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EDITOR

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Editorial

The necessity for a standard journal for Kerala Studies was long felt by all well-meaning scholars and the University of Kerala which in every sense, speaks for the heritage of Kerala and for its preservation in a time of violent change, came out with the decision to start a research quarterly-the *Journal of Kerala studies*. What the Department of History of the University has been doing in the field of Indian History through the reputed *Journal of Indian History*, it has been asked to do in the field of Kerala Studies. We are pleased that we enjoy now the sponsorship of two distinguished professional historical journals. Though growth is a significant measure of achivement, we are aware that it is not the only one. Still we have reason for feeling happy that our growth and expansion were qualitatively graded and that the *Journal of Indian History* has been a *force majeure* in awakening a public appreciation of the usefulness of objective research in Indian History. We have adopted the same standards in the production of the new journal also.

The purpose of this journal is to provide more dependable and accurate insights, through the study of primary and secondary source documents into the drama of Kerala's history and culture. It also intends to promote study and research in all branches of knowledge connected with the past and present of Kerala, special emphasis being given to her anthropology, politics, economics, sociology, philology and literature, folklore, comparative religion and theology, law, philosophy art and architecture, music and sciences. Our main concern is, to be sure, to unravel the unknown past, and to present an objective, as far as possible verified or approximately true picture of the problems and issues that need to be properly understood by the present generation. Before attempting a comprehensive history of Kerala, we have to devote ourselves

to painstaking research and investigation into the different individual themes related to our heritage and bring out indepth analyses. An integrated and complete history of Kerala will evolve itself out of these studies. Kerala history has suffered much from the impressionistic writnigs of scholars who did not know the method of historical research. Progress of any branch of knowledge depends upon the quantitative and qualitative research output of its votaries. The motto of a developing discipline should be 'Do research or perish' The *Journal of Kerala Studies* will provide the scholars, on an inter-disciplinary basis, a forum to disseminate the results of their investigations.

In this endeavour to conserve at least segments of our natural and man-made heritage we need your help and active co-operation. Each subscriber, we believe, is not only a patron but more importantly, the pillar that the Journal stands on. It grows on your strength.

Shrine-interiors of Kerala style of temples

BY

H. SARKAR

The interior of the sanctum of the temples in Kerala, as it is well-known, is generally inaccessible except to the concerned priest. On the other hand, several interesting architectural features remain hidden inside it, and, in this paper an attempt is made to throw more light on this particular aspect[1].

It goes without saying that, barring a few temples, built in typical Drāviḍa style,[2] to use Kramrisch's terminology,[3] the temple-architecture of Kerala presents more or less a uniform picture marked by sloping roofs, sometimes reduplicated, and profuse use of wood in superstructure, and even in the construction of walls specially in the Districts of Kottayam and Alleppey. Though four-sided and circular ground-plans dominate, there are examples of apsidal and elliptical ground-plans as well.

It is not always easy to distinguish a circular plan from elliptical to naked eyes but elliptical temples do exist not only in Kerala but also in Tamil Nadu. The ancient *śilpa*-texts mention them as

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1. Of the previous attempts, the most well-documented study is by M. S. Duraiswami Ayyangar in his "Architecture of Travancore Temples", *Proceedings and Transactions of the ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum* (Trivandrum, 1940), pp. 1102 ff. Also, see Stella Kramrisch, *Dravida and Kerala in the Art of Travancore* (Ascona, 1953). The latter originally forms part of the *Arts and Crafts of Travancore* (1948), now published by Kramrisch, Cousins and Poduval as *The Arts and Crafts of Kerala* (Cochin, 1970).
2. Some examples of pure Drāviḍa style of temples on the west coast are temples at Viḻiññam, a shrine in the Paraśurāma complex at Tiruvallam, District Trivandrum; Pārthasārathī temple at Parthivasekharapuram, District Kanyakumari Ganapathi shrine at Kanjirapalli, District Kottayam; Kattilmadam and Nethirimangalam, District Palghat; Jain Basti at Sultan's Battery, District Kozhikode; Ganapati temple at Ullal and Manjunatha temple at Kadri, District South Kanara; and Raṅganāthasvamī temple at Bhatkal, North Kanara.
3. See, Kramrisch in *op. cit.* (1970), pp. 15-16.

one of the Vesara type of temples;[4] in fact, it has been used in ancient times by all the predominant sects. In Tamil Nadu, examples of elliptical shrines, ascribable to the medieval times, come from Kanchipuram, Srirangam and Alagarkovil. We know of three examples so far from Kerala: the famous fifteenth century temple at Vaikom, in District Kottayam is built on elliptical plan (10.2 x 8.4m). Further, the granite *adhishṭhāna*, perhaps of an older shrine, now used as the *kūttambalam*, in the Mahādeva temple-complex at Chengannur, District Alleppey, is also elliptical on plan (18.7 by 14.2 m). Though it has not been possible for us to measure the Śiva temple at Uliyanur, District Ernakulam, it appears to be more elliptical than circular.[5]

The apsidal temple with a *gajapṛishṭhākāra*, roof has a sporadic distribution all along the west coast right up to Trivandrum, with some concentration in the Districts of Trichur and Malappuram. In many cases, they look almost semicircular like the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Gudimallam, in Andhra Pradesh. In other words, they have a breadth/length ratio of 1 : 1. But the earlier apsidal temples in Kerala, specially those confined to ancient Vaḷḷuvanāḍ, show the breadth/length ratio of about 1 : 1½.

The temples in Kerala conform to both *nirandhāra* (without ambulatory) and *sāndhāra* (with ambulatory) types, but it seems, although we cannot support it by any statistical data, the latter outnumbers the former. From the point of view of the present study the *sāndhāra* group alone has been taken into account as they present several interesting features connected with the interior arrangement of the Kerala shrines.

It is quite interesting to note that very often the circular sanctums have been transformed internally into a square. This type of structural form dates back to as early as the third century A. D.,

4. The *śilpa*-texts like the *Tantrasamuccaya* refers definitely to this type of temples as *vṛttāyata prāsāda (paṭala*, II,68). The *Isānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, (III, ch. xxx, 41f.) includes *vṛttāyata* or elliptical form as one of the eight types of *śikhara*, while the *Mānasāra*, in its *Nāgarādividhāna* mentions elliptical outlines from base upwards as one of the Vesara types. For detailed discussion, see *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to Tantrasamuccaya* by N. Mallaya.

5. H. Sarkar, "The Jvaraharesvara temple at Kanchipuram and other elliptical shrines in South India," *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, (in the press).

although confined mainly to the Buddhist architecture[6]. Yet it is a very widespread form in Kerala, with their extant remains dating back at least to the twelfth century A. D. A typical example of this category is the ruined Śiva temple at Tirunellai, near Palghat; it is associated with an inscription of the twelfth century[7].

Broadly speaking, the example of *sāndhāra* temples may be divided into two groups, *viz.*, shrines with the walls of their *garbhagṛha* rising to the same height as those of the outer walls or *bāhya-bhittis*, while in the other type, the *garbhagṛha* forms almost an independent entity with a domical roof surmounting the sanctum, which, more often than not, has its own flight of steps. It is proposed to describe here a few examples.

Let us start with the ruined Śiva temple at Tirunellai mentioned earlier. As the circular outer wall has fallen down, it offers a clear view of the circular *garbhagṛha* which has been transformed into a square internally. The *garbhagṛha* is made of brick although stone has been used in the ceiling and the dome. At present the outerwall is represented by granite *aḍhisthāna*; the circumambulatory path between the *bāhya-bhitti* and the circular *garbhagṛha* is paved with stone-slabs.

The circular brick-wall of the *garbhagṛha* which itself is a miniature temple, has a thickness of about 2'3". Relieved by twelve thin pilasters, it stands on an incipient socle or *adhishṭhāna* indicated by projections at the bottom-most courses. In fact, the *ghanadvāras* and the pilasters stand on the second projection of the socle. Some sort of a *kapota* and a *valabhi* can be noticed on the entablature part of the *garbhagṛha*. It has an octagonal dome without any defined *grīva* and originally, it might have been crowned by a *stūpī*. The stone-ceiling inside rises in tiers; evidently, the domical top has been achieved by horizontal arch based on corbelling. From outside, the *sikhara* appears like a compressed dome, with eight facets. Needless to say, the outer wall must have carried a conical roof made of tiles, or timber covered with copper sheets, the most characteristic type of roofing of the Kerala temples.

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6. H. Sarkar, "Some Aspects of Buddhist monuments at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa", *Ancient India* no. 16, p. 73 and pl. XXXVIII.
7. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1961, no. B. 241.

Let us take an example of a developed form of *garbhagṛha*. The main shrine of the Eraṇḍumūrti Amman temple-complex at Tiruvalattūr, near Palghat, is a circular temple rebuilt some time in the fifteenth-sixteenth century.[8] It encloses a square *garbhagṛha*, made of granite, with a separate *adhishṭhāna* the mouldings of which consist of *upāna*. *Jagati*. *vṛitta-kumuda*. *kaṇṭha*, *paṭṭikā* and *prati*. Though the walls of the *garbhagṛha* are plain, the curved cornice (*kapota*) on all the four sides is embellished with *kūḍus*, two on each side Above the short octagonal *grīvā* rises an octagonal *śikhara* very short in height. The temple proper has the typical Kerala type of conical roof. The Niramankara temple at Nēmam, District Trivandrum, with a square *garbhagṛha* having an octagonal *grīva* and *śikhara* also belongs to this type[9] In some cases the spire is considerably tall as one finds on the *garbhagṛha*, circular externally and square internally, of the Bhagavatī temple at Kumaranallūr,[10] District Kottayam. Similar spire is noticed also in the Mahādēva shrine of the Paraśurāma temple complex at Tiruvallam, near Trivandrum. These are made on the principle of corbelling. In some cases, the square interior has been transformed into an octagon in the midheight.

It is evident from the foregoing that the *garbhagṛha* is a small shrine with an octagonal *grīvā* and *śikhara*. Evidently, it can easily be compared with the temples in Tamil Nadu. According to the widely-known classification, temples with octagonal *śikhara* is called Drāviḍa *vimāna*. Along with this pure form is blended the indigenous architecture of Kerala with the sloping pyramidal or conical roof.

The shrine-interiors of the Kerala temples present some more features, quite unique in conception and arrangement. It is not known when the circumambulatory paths in Kerala temples were rendered non-functional, but the general layout of the interior may tend to show its accessibility to votaries in some period of its history. Sometimes there are more than one ambulatory around the *garbhagṛha* and they are distinct from the uncovered processional path around the Śrīkovil. The most characteristic

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8. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1928-29, B. 455.
9. Kramrisch, Cousins and Poduval, (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; pl. V b. It has been dated to the fourteenth century.
10. Duraiswami Ayyangar (1940), *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

feature is the occurrence of pillars in the processional path around the *garbhagṛha*. For instance, the Śiva temple at Ettumānūr, District Kottayam, has a row of fourteen columns; laid in a circle, around the square *garbhagṛha*. In the Śiva temple at Perumanam, District Trichur, two rows of pillars-the first having twelve and the second row sixteen—have been arranged all round the square *garbha-griha*. At Venganallūr, District Trichur, the interior arrangement consists of two rows of pillars encircling the miniature *vimāna* built on four-sided plan and complete from *adhishṭhāna* to stūpi. Such instances can, be easily multiplied.

This peripteral conception is practically absent in square temples enclosing a square *garbhagṛha*. Here also one distinguishes two types of *sāndhāra-vimānas* The Tali temple near Trichur associated with a number of Chera inscriptions[11] follows the traditional type noticed in the temple-architecture of the Guptas, the Chālukyas, and the Pallavas. The Kīḷetaḷi Śiva temple at Cranganore and the Lakshminārāyaṇa shrine in the Varāhamūrti temple complex at Panniyūr were built in the same tradition in which the *garbhagṛha* walls extend upwards as the second storey. In such temples no pillar-arrangement has been noticed. This is absent also in the other type having two circumambulatory paths. In the latter case the *garbhagṛha* is almost an independent shrine, with its own *śikhara* of the Drāviḍa variety. The Subrahmaṇya temple at Maṇiyūr, District Cannanore, may be taken as a characteristic specimen of such temples It has its own *adhishṭhāna* and *śikhara*, the latter with a *stūpī*, The Mahā-Vishṇu temple at Tirunelli situated deep into the Wynad forest has an identical plan. While the former is associated with a twelfth century inscription, the latter yielded a copper-plate of the time of a Chera king Bhāskara Ravivarman[12] Both the temples, like several other examples in Kerala, have four functional doors, thereby conforming to the *sarvatōbhadra* type of the *Vāstu śāstras*. Most of the early temples of north Malabar like the Narayankannur temple at Rāmantaḷi and the temples at Taḷiparamba belong to this type. Such temples in Kerala may be square, circular or apsidal on plan.

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11. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVIII, pp. 216-220. Also 341-348 of 1924. It contains records of the time of Indu-Kodaivarman and Bhāskara Ravivarman the earliest of which dates back to the middle of the tenth century.

12. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1928-29, nos. B. 447-48; and 1956-57, A 40. The copper-plate is dated *A. D.* 1021; see, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, pp. 339-45.

It is not unlikely that the *ghanadvāras* on three sides so common in the Kerala style of temples, are stylized representations of the four functional doors. Sometimes, the back of the *garbhagṛha* has been used for installing an image of the consort of a particular deity; in such cases, there may be two separate entrances, each with a balustraded flight of steps. Examples of such shrines come from the Mahdeva temple at Chengannur, District Alleppey, the Siva temple at Uḷiyanūr, the Peruntirukkōyil at Udayanāmpērūr, the last two in District Ernakulam, etc.

In apsidal temples also we find more than one circumambulatory around the apsidal sanctum. The Subrahmaṇya temple at Payyanūr and the Sadāśiva temple at Mangalapādi, both in District Cannanore, have two ambulatory paths but these are without any pillars. Two rows of pillars, however, divide the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the Sadāśiva temple into five bays. The peripteral arrangement in the interior of the Vāmana temple at Kīzhāvellūr, District Kottayam, may nevertheless be compared with that in the circular temples. A row of twelve pillars surrounds the inner sanctum also apsidal on plan. Made entirely of laterite blocks, the Vāmana temple appears to be a very old structure associated with an inscrip:ion of A. D. 1035[13] when Rājasimha was possibly on the Chera throne. Another interesting variation can be seen in the Śiva temple at Triprangode, District Malapuram, where the apsidal *sāndhāra-prāsāda* is enclosed by a peristyle resting on an apsidal *upapīṭha*, which appears to be the original *adhishṭhāna* of the temple. Such re-utilization of *adhishṭhāna* as *upapīṭha* has been noticed at Trikkaṇḍiyūr in District Malapuram and Tiruvaṇṇūr temple near Calicut, both built on an apsidal ground-plan with *gaja-prishṭhākāra* superstructure. We come across another type in which the apsidal plan has been modified internally into a rectangle: the shrine at Karikkāḍkshētram, near Mañjēri, District Malapuram, belongs to this group. This temple-complex is associated with a number of inscriptions ascribable to the eleventh-twelfth century.[14]

The apsidal plan similar to that of the Ayyappan temple at Mañjēri is a very old form, for the Agastyeśvara temple at Chilamakuru, in District Cuddapah, Andhra Pradesh, ascribable

13. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1966, no. B. 66 (in the press).
14. *Ibid.*, 1960, B. 234 238.

to the eighth-ninth century is[15] apsidal externally and oblong internally. Almost identical type of plan can be seen in the ruined temple on the Sambhukallu at Udayavara, near Udipi, South Kanara. It may be mentioned here that the apsidal shrines are common in South Kanara and its sporadic distribution further on the west coast suggests north to south distribution. On the other hand, the circular temples which are of rare occurrence in South Kanara shows south to north distribution.

Further, the circular temples in Kerala can hardly be compared with a few extant remains in Tamil Nadu and Mysore;[16] and there cannot be any doubt that domical *garbhagṛha* with columns all round it, inside the main Śrī-kovil, is a unique conception in the Brahmanical architecture of India. Perhaps this type of edifice has been referred to in the *Śilparatna* as *padma-prāsāda?*[17] At the same time, we cannot overlook its close affinity with the *stūpa*-architecture of India and Ceylon. The circular cave of the Tulaja-leṇa group at Junnar is encircled by a row of pillars, a feature noticed recently also in the excavation of the great *stūpa* at Amaravati. Further, the Ceylonese circular temples, known as Wata-dage, in which two concentric circles of pillars encircle the *stūpa*[18] also bear similarity with the idea of circular shrines in Kerala. In the circumstances, we may reasonably postulate the

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15. It is associated with a record of a Telugu-Choḍa rulers, ascribable to the beginning of the eighth century. See *Epigraphia Indica* XXVII, pp. 236-240. The apsidal shrine in the Vardhamāna temple-complex at Tirupparuttik-kuṇram has a rectangular interior. See pl. II of *Tirupparuttikkuṇram and its temples* by T. N. Ramachandran, Madras (1934).

16. Circular shrines of Mysore, Tamil Nadu and other parts of India have been described and a few of them illustrated in the paper '*The Ghaṭa-prāsādas of ancient texts*" by H. Sarkar in Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume (Madras, 1971), pp. 270-279.

17. *Śilparatna*, *pūrva-bhāga*, Ch. XVI, v. 113 It runs as follows:

Ete pañcha-daśa proktā vṛittākārāḥ surālayāḥ /
Atho gṛhalupākūṭā adhaḥpadmasāmayutāḥ //

According to the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, the *Padma-prāsāda* should be in the shape of a lotus (*padmaḥ padmākṛti*). However, the lists of forty-five as well as sixty-four temples of various texts include it under Kailasa or circular group.

18. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Bombay, 3rd edition), pp. 129-31. Also, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, (London, 1927), pp. 164-65.

influence of some Buddhist architectural tradition from some source on the circular temples of Kerala. Perhaps this is not an accidental factor, for the Buddhist sites in Kerala are concentrated more in the Quilon-Alleppey area than elsewhere.[19] Finally, the *garbha-gṛha*, in the form of a miniature *vimāna*, represents the typical Drāviḍa tradition, which has been nicely blended and harmonized with the basic regional style developed to a large extent in relation to geographical needs and exigencies.[20]

19. Attention may be drawn here to the theory of Irava migration from Ceylon to Kerala. See, A. Aiyappan, *Social Revolution in Kerala Village* (Bombay, 1965), pp. 115-21; and P. C. Alexander, *Buddhism in Kerala* (Annamalainagar, 1949), pp. 123-35. For Buddhist remains in Kerala see, "Jaina and Buddhist Vestiges in Travancore", by T. A Gopinatha Rao in *Travancore Archaeological Series*, II, Pt. II, pp. 115-30; A. Aiyppan and P. R. Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism with special reference to South India* pp. 72-74; and A Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History* (Kottayam, 1967), pp. 90-94.

20. The present paper is based on the one presented to the Seminar on Archaeology, Madurai, 1970.

Travancore - Cochin Relations in the Eighteenth Century

BY

A. P. IBRAHIM KUNJU

From the moment Mārtaṇḍa Varma, King of Travancore, set in motion his army of conquest to bring under control the refractory Tāvaḻi members and his inconvenient northern neighbours, in order to found an united and integrated Kingdom in South Kēraḷa, a breach in the relations between Travancore and Cochin was inevitable. To save Vaḍakkumkūr, Cempakaśśēri and other petty chieftaincies, which were the feudatories of Cochin, and to save herself from being swallowed up, once these svarūpams were conquered, the Rāja of Cochin decided to assist the Rāja of Kayamkuḷam, who was being threatened by Travancore. The Dutch, who thought that their commercial interests would suffer by the conquest of the minor principalities and the consequent increase in the power of Travancore, also threw in their lot with Kāyamkuḷam. The Confederates were able, in the beginning, to drive back the invading armies of Travancore and even overrun Travancore territory as far as Āṟṟiṅṅal and Vāmanapuram. Though Cochin later withdrew from the campaign, the mischief was done.[1] The assumption of control by Travancore, over the Harippāḍ and Tiruvalla temples, over which Cochin claimed *Mēlkōyma* rights also strained the relations between the two states.

It was at this critical moment that the Cāḻūr dispute broke out, giving Travancore an opportunity to interfere in Cochin affairs. With the accession of Rāma Varma (1749-60 A. D.), who was

1. In the words of the *Peṟumpaḍappusvarūpam Granthavari*: "In the course of the campaign, temples were desecrated, cows slaughtered and many other enormities committed by the Commanduer against Kēṟaḷarāj dharma, disregarding the protests of His Highness. A fortress was erected at Kuḷaccal, in spite of the disapproval of the policy by His Highness. Further, Dutch and Kāyamkulam soldiers were despatched to Neḍumpuram to capture the princesses of Tṟipāppūr Svarūpam residing there. Declaring that His Highness would not be a party to such unjust actions (he withdrew from the expedition). (*Records in Oriental Languages*, Cochin, Vol. I, pp. 6-7 (Ernakulam, 1943).

junior in age to some of the Tampāns of the Cāḷūr Tāvaḷi, they began to agitate for the title and dignities of the 'Perumpaḍappu mūppu'[2]. In May, 1750, the Anjengo Factors reported:" A prince related to the King of Cochien having had some disputes depending with him for somtime past, he has flew to the King of Travancore for protection which being granted, there is reason to imagine an open breach between them will ensue tho' at present everything remains pretty easy & quiet in the country."[3] To seek external assistance for their cause, Vīrakēraḷan Tampurān of the Cāḷūr Tāvaḷi contracted a marriage alliance with Vaḍakkumkūr and the two parties now jointly approached Mārtāṇḍa Varma soliciting his interference. Mārtāṇḍa Varma, who was awaiting an opportunity for chastising the Cochin Rāja for supporting his enemies, now notified Cochin, through the Dutch authorities at Cochin, that the Tampāns were under his protection and that he intended taking measures to restore their rights. The Dutch Commandeur, De La Haye, and the Cochin Rāja protested, saying that the Tampāns had no right to the 'Perumpaḍappu Mūppu', as the right had been relinquished long ago. Finding that his representations had no effect, the Cochin Rāja decided to resist the move of Mārtāṇḍa Varma.

In support of the Cāḷūr Tampāns, the Travancore forces invaded Karappuram. Though no serious engagements took place, the Cochin armies were pushed back. On 5th Kanni, 927 M. E. (6th Sept. 1751 A. D.), the Travancore forces attacked Cochin entrenchments at

2. C. Achyuta Menon : *The Cochin State Manual*, (Ernakulam, 1911), pp. 110-111. T. K. Velu Pillai, author of the *Travancore State Manual*, states that " in the Cochin ruling family, the title of 'Perumpadappu muppu' appertained to the senior-most member of all the five branches taken together The ruling Rāja had no right to use the title, he being only the eldest male member of the Elaya Thavaḷi" (Trivandrum, 1940), Vol. II p. 324). This statement. probably made to justify the interference of Travancore in Cochin affairs, taking the side of the Cāḷūr Tampāns, is not correct. Of the five Tāvaḷis of the Perumpaḍappu Svarūpam. all except the Iḷaya and Cāḷūr Tāvaḷis had become extinct by this time. It is true that the earliest custom was for the senior-most member of all the five branches taken together, to assume the title and dignities of the 'Perumpaḍappu mūppu'. But this privilege was reliquished in favour of the ruling Tāvaḷi in the time of Rāma Varma (1697-1701 A. D.) by the then Perumpaḍappu mūppu' belonging to the Cāḷūr Tāvaḷi, in consideration of the properties appertaining to the *sthānam*. The question of the 'Perumpaḍappu Mūppu' had not been raised since then. (Vide, *Perumpaḍappu Svarūpam Grandhavari* (Hereinafter cited as *P. S. G.* p. 8).

3. *Anjengo Consultations* (Madras, 1936), Vol. 2-B., p. 116.

Ālappuḻa (Alleppey) and the Cochin army was driven out. Karappuram as far as Kuriyamuṭṭam was occupied. The Tampāns assisted by Vaḍakkumkūr forces, attacked the eastern districts and occupied Pūttōṭṭam. The Tampāns were now put in possession of Karappuram by the Travancore Rāja, on defraying the cost of the expedition.[4]

In spite of this aggression, Cochin was amenable to mediation of the dispute. On the initiative of the Dutch Commandeur, the Iḷaya Tampurān of Cochin met representatives of Travancore at Vayalār. It was made clear at the conference that the 'Perumpaḍappu Mūppu' had no ruling right, which was limited to members of the Iḷaya Tāvaḻi alone. No settlement was reached at the meeting[5]

Another attempt was made to settle these differences in Karkaḍakam, 928 M. E. (July, 1753 A. D.), when the Cochin Rāja met representatives of Travancore at Māvēlikkara The draft agreement provided that (1) Cochin should sell to Travancore all pepper produced in Cochin, except 500 candies which she might keep for home consumption, (2) Travancore should relinquish Karappuram, (3) Cochin might continue to exercise 'Kōyma' rights over the Haripāḍ and Tiruvalla temples as of old, (4) the question of the Tampāns be decided on 20th Ciṅṅam next at Vaikkam in the presence of nobles, (5) Travancore should not take Vaḍakkumkūr and Cempakaśśēri Svarūpams to task for their indiscreet acts as they are subordinate svarūpams under Cochin, but settle disputes with them by mutual consultation, and (6) Cochin to pay 25,000 rupees to Travancore for expenses.[6] The draft however was not ratified. Another meeting was held at Māvēlikkara on 8th Ciṅṅam, 929 M. E. (20th August, 1753 A. D.), but it also came to nothing.[7] Travancore had in the meantime completed the conquest of Cempakaśśēri and Vaḍakkumkūr in utter disregard of the terms proposed at Māvēlikkara. It now appeared that Travancore wanted to present a *fait accompli* in respect of the Northern Principalities before an understanding was reached with Cochin. Hence her failure to ratify the proposals made at Māvēlikkara.

The flagrant violation by Travancore of the understanding reached in respect of Cempakaśśēri and Vaḍakkumkūr and the support given

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4. PSG., p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10; *Cochin Treaties*, (Ernakulrm, n. d), No. I.
7. *Cochin Treaties* No. II.

to the Tampāns, persuaded the Cochin Rāja to lend his support to a combination of the expelled Princes of Tekkumkūr, Vaḍakkumkūr and Cempakaśśēri. The Cochin army was commanded by Paḷḷiyil Iḍikkeḷa Mēnōn and all the noble families of Cochin, forgetting their ancient rivalries, joined the expedition. Members of Pāliyam, Kōḍaśśēri, Panamukkam, Caññaṟamkōta and Tōṭṭaśśēri families took a leading part in the expedition. The disaffected gentry in the conquered territories joined the confederates, swelling their ranks.[8] Thus the rising assumed the nature of a war of liberation and Travancore was hard put to meet the situation. The Travancore army of occupation was in great peril and they withdrew to southern parts. As a result, the Confederates were able to occupy the conquered territories without much opposition.

Receiving secret information from the Dutch regarding the coalition, Travancore was able to rush reinforcements to the North. As the rising in the North grew formidable, Travancore levied additional battalions of cavalry troops from across the Ghauts.[9] Ample supplies of arms and ammunition were also secured from the English at Anjengo [10].

The Confederates occupied Kuḍamāḷūr and Ampalappuḻa and put up earth works and stockades at Purakkāḍ Ānandēśvaram, across the isthmus. On 18th Dhanu, 929 M. E. (29th December, 1753), the Travancore forces attacked the entrenchments. After a stiff fight in which large numbers were killed on both sides, the Confederates withdrew to Ampalappuḻa. [11] In the fight at Ampalappuḻa, the Confederates again suffered defeat, but the opposition to the advance of Travancore forces was so stubborn that the progress in ejecting the enemy became halting. An all-out effort was now made by Travancore to meet the situation. Fresh troops were raised [12] and in Āḍi, 929 M. E. (July, 1754 A. D.), fresh cavalry contingents were enlisted from across the Ghauts. [13] In the course of renewed fighting at Ampalappuḻa, the Travancore forces entered the maṭham and made Pāliyat Kōmi Accan and a number of other notables of

8. *Matilakam Records Curuṇa*, 456, Ōla, 301.
9. *Ibid.*, Curuṇa, 1139, Ōla, 848.
10. *Anj. Factory Records*, MS. *Diaries*, Vol. III C, F. 96.
11. P. S. G., p. 10.
12. *Matilakam Records*, Curuṇa, 1139, Ōla 848.
13. *Ibid.*, Curuṇa 854, Ōla 637.

Cochin prisoners. Of them Iḍikkeḷa Mēnōn, the Cochin Commander and Tōṭṭaśśēri Kaymaḷ were put to death and others, including Pāliyat Kōmi Accan, were released after collecting a considerable ransom.[14]

The Rāja of Cempakaśśēri withdrew to Kuḍamāḷūr and continued the fight. The military situation was so desperate that, while applying for military stores to the Anjengo Factors, Rāmayyan Daḷava, the Prime Minister of Travancore, wrote that "he is very busy at present employed with the army to the northward, from whence he does not expect to return soon." [15] On 5th May, 1754, the Travancore King further pressed the English Factors to lend him four great guns for use in the war against the Northern princes, for "he found them more powerful than he expected". [16]

The Confederates, though defeated in several engagements and pressed from both the east and south, fought for every inch of territory. To secure their conquests, the Travancore forces were compelled to construct fortifications at Vaikom and other places. [17] In August, 1754, the Travancore army was able to capture Cērttala only after some hard fighting. But soon the entire Karappuram was cleared of Confederate troops, and Cochin territory as far as Pampā Aḻi (Arūr) on the west was occupied. From Karappuram, Prince Rāma Varma crossed over to Kumarakam on the eastern side of the Vēmpanāḍ backwater. After a stiff fight, the enemy gave in.

The constant requisition for fire-arms by the King of Travancore indicated the still critical military situation in the northern districts. As late as February, 1755, we find the Rāja of Travancore importuning the Anjengo Factors for immediate delivery of 400 fire-arms, which he declared "he was in great want of, being hard pressed by his enemies". [18]

At this juncture, Cochin had to face peril from another quarter also. The Zamorin had in the meantime occupied Cērruvāy Maṇappuram and put up entrenchments at Veḷutta Vāḍakkal and Pappinimaṟṟam. Several of the Cochin nobles now joined the Zamorin.

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14. Cunes, Frederic : Memoir, (Madras, 1908) p. 8; P. S. G., p. 10.
15 *Anj. Fact. Records—MS. Diaries*, Vol. IV A, Part I, F. 52.
16. *Ibid.*, F. 90.
17. *Ibid.*, F. 97.
18 *Ibid.*, Part II, F. 71.

Thereupon the Zamorin proposed a combination of North Kērala powers against the aggressive policy of Travancore. The Rāja of Cochin, however, turned down the offer, declaring that he would have no dealings with a traditional enemy of the svarūpam and the Dutch Company.[19] Chagrined at the failure of his scheme of conquest, the Zamorin occupied Cochin territory upto Ālaṅṅāḍ and Paravūr.

To meet the new threat of conquest of her territories by the Zamorin, Cochin had to withdraw her armies from Vaḍakkumkūr which considerably weakened the Confederate defence position. Taking advantage of the situation, Travancore troops swept across Vaḍakkumkūr and even occupied Kuṟunāḍ, Aikkaṟanāḍ and Kunnattunād, belonging to Cochin. Finding himself between two fires, and with no prospect of help forthcoming from the Dutch, Cochin decided to come to terms with Travancore. On the initiative of Pāliyat Kōmi Accan, who had become friendly with the Travancore officials during his imprisonment, a meeting was arranged at Tṛppūṇittura in 1756 A. D. Caspar de Jong, the Dutch Commandeur at Cochin, was also present. But on account of the unacceptable terms put forward by Travancore, no agreement could be reached.[20]

On the resumption of hostilities, the Travancore troops occupied Kaṇṭanāḍ and approached Tānnippuḻa on the east and Aṟur backwater on the west, which left Cochin with no choice but to accept terms. The Rāja sent envoys to Trivandrum to sue for peace, whereupon the invading armies were recalled. On 12th Makaram, 932 M. E. (21st January, 1757 A. D.), the two states mutually agreed that: (1) both Cochin and Travancore must act in unison in future and Cochin should not allow enemies of Travancore to reside within her territories; (2) Cochin must sell all the pepper produced in the country to Travancore, retaining 500 candies for her own use; (3) Travancore can enjoy the territories of the Rājas of Vaḍakkumkūr and Cempakaśśēri, until they compensate her for the amounts spent on account of the troubles caused by them; (4) Cochin shall not go to the help of these svarūpams any more, nor correspond

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19. The statement of K. V. Krishna Iyer (*A History of Kerala*, (Coimbatore, 1968), p. 250) that on the request ef the Cochin Rāja, the Zamorin sent him a force to fight against Travancore, is contradicted by the '*Perumpaḍappu Svarūpam Grandhavari*' (p. 11).
20. *Cochin Archives, Miscellaneous Correspondence*, Letters to Batavia, List. —LXIA, No. 3.

with, nor defray the expenses of the Cempakaśśēri Rāja, who has taken shelter in the Trichur (Vaḍakkunnāthan temple) Sankētam; and (5) each state must continue to enjoy the *Kōyma* rights over the temples in the other state, as of old[21].

Adriaan Moens, the Dutch Commandeur at Cochin (1771-81) had raised the pertinent question, "Why having been so successful in everything, he (Mārtāṇḍa Varma, king of Travancore) had not extended his conquests further, and completely subjugated the king of Cochin."[22] As tradition has it, one of the regrets of Rāmayyan Daḷava, the right-hand man of Mārtāṇḍa Varma, on his death-bed, was that he was not allowed to conquer Cochin and annex it to Travancore. In Moens' own opinion, the consideration which prevented Travancore from overrunning the entire Cochin territory was: "Travancore is far-seeing and careful; he knows very well that the conservation of his conquests requires as much his prudence as their acquisition ...At present it is all to his advantage to keep quiet and preserve what he has, for fear of Nabob Haidar Alikhan, who has long been hungering for his kingdom."[23] This observation of Moens does not seem to be correct. For it was only after 1761, when Haidar firmly found himself in supreme power in Mysore, that he planned to conquer the Kēraḷa coast. When Moens wrote his Memoir in 1781, Haidar had become a powerful enemy to reckon with; but in 1757, he was serving as Faujdar of Diṇṭukal and Travancore had little to fear from him.

But a more real and imminent danger to Travancore was the threat posed to her possessions in the South, from beyond the Ghats. The threat was from the forces of Muhammad Ali, the Nawāb of the Carnatic. Even as early as February, 1740, when Travancore was engaged in an all-out fight with Kāyaṁkuḷam and the Dutch, these possessions were threatened by the forces of the Nawāb of the Carnatic. On 31st January, 1746, the Dutch Factors at Cochin reported to Batavia that "only the fear of the Nabob who threatens to attack him (Rāja of Travancore), for having raised fortifications in the south, prevents his operations".[24] While the king's hands were

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21. *Cochin Treaties*, Nos. II and III.
22. Moens, A: *Memoir*, (Madras, 1908) p. 8.
23. *Ibid*
24. Madras Archives, *Press List of Ancient Dutch Records*, No. 421. This volume is missing from the the Archives.

full with the general uprising in the northern districts, his southern districts were threatened by the Nawāb's forces. The consternation which this event had created in Travancore was so serious that the king even proposed to the English Factors at Anjengo to send an officer and fifty English soldiers "to take possession of Callicadu, a fortification on his frontiers to the southward, which otherwise he was apprehensive would fall into the enemy's hands".[25] Thus this threat to his southern possessions from the forces of the Nawab of the Carnatic was the real reason which forced him to accept the hand of accommodation extended by the king of Cochin.

Meanwhile, the Zamorin had continually extended his conquests in Cochin through the defection of Cochin nobility. By the close of 931 M. E. (1756 A. D), the Zamorin's forces had occupied Paravūr and Ālaṅṅāḍ. With the assistance of Cochin nobles, the Zamorin further extended his sway over Talappiḷḷi and Koḍakara. In Makaram, 933 M. E. (Jan., 1758 A.D), Cēnnamaṅgalam was attacked and Pāliyam occupied. All chieftains of Cochin went over to the side of the Zamorin, and only Pāliyatt Accan, Cērāṇallūr Kartāvu and the Lords of Añci Kaymaḷ remained loyal. The fortunes of Cochin had reached the lowest ebb by this time and the country had shrunk in size to include only the present Kaṇayannūr and parts of Trichur talūks. For about five years this state of affairs continued.

Vīra kēraḷa varma, who ascended the throne of Cochin on 1st Ciṅṅam, 936 M. E. (August 13,1760 A.D.) took counsel with Weijerman, the Dutch Commandeur at Cochin and decided to expel the Zamorin from Cochin territory by securing the assistance of Travancore. The king and the Commandeur met Rāma Varma, the king of Travancore, at Cērttala in Tulām, 936 M. E. (Oct.-Nov., 1760 A.D.) and entered into an offensive and defensive treaty, which was ratified on 12th Dhanu, 937. M. E. (23rd December, 1761 A. D.) After reiterating the provisions of the agreement of Makaram, 932 M. E. (January, 1757 A D.), the Treaty stated: " The Zamorin having invaded the country with a large army, driven out our people and occupied the country, and we having applied to you to aid us with men and money for reconquering our country from Pūkkaita in the north-west and Veḷḷappanāṭṭukara (including Pālakkāḍ and Tenmalappuram) in the east, in return for which we have ceded to you

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25. *Anj. Factory Records, MS. Diaries*, Vol. IV-A, Part II, F. 87.

Karappuram-territories south of the Pampā Aḷi and north of Ālappuḻa, excepting Aṇṭikkaḍavu, Cellāni and Kumpalaṅṅi and the districts of Ālaṅṅād and Paravūr and all the estates and rights thereof which you may enjoy heretofore. Until such time your soldiers are sent back after bringing the conquered territories under our control, we shall remit half the revenue collection of our country for defraying their expenses. When Veḷḷappanāṭṭukara is occupied, you shall engage your own men and collect the revenues from the territories conquered from the Zamorin. You shall spend from your resources in men and money until the enemies are driven out and the country brought under our control. We will enjoy the territories from Muriñña Puḻa in the south and Varāppuḻa in the north, including Kuṟunāḍ, but excluding the territories in your enjoyment till 933 M.E. You will also assist us in bringing the country under our effective control by removing the chieftains who ought to be removed and establishing those who ought to be established."[26]

Though the agreement was ratified, the King of Travancore did not move immediately to fulfil its provisions. It appeared that he was apprehensive whether the King of Cochin would abide by the agreement, once the Zamorin was driven out of Cochin. Consequently no measures were taken by the king of Travancore to drive out the Zamorin from Cochin territory. Sensing the suspicion of the King, Vīra Kerala Varma proceeded to Sucīndram, the celebrated temple in South Travancore, and on 25th Karkaḍakam, 937 M. E. (6th August, 1762 A. D.) took the oath of perpetual friendship with the King of Travancore and his heirs. The ōla read as follows:

"This is the ōla of oath and affirmation made before Sthāṇumūrtti by Virakēraḷa Varma Tirukkōyiladhikārikaḷ, born under the star Rōhini of Perumpaḍappu svarūpam, on 25th Karkaḍakam, 937 (M. E)

Neither we nor our heirs will do nor will cause to be done aught against Srī Padmanābhadāsa Bala Rāma Varma Kulaśēkhara perumāḷ, born under the star Kārttika, of the Tṛppāppūr svarūpam or his heirs. We will not join his enemies nor correspond with them.

By the feet of Sthāṇumūrtti [we take this oath]".[27]

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26. *Cochin Treaties*, No. IV.
27. *Trivandrum Archives*, Doc. No. CLIX, (Quoted by Velu Pillai : *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, App. p. 166).

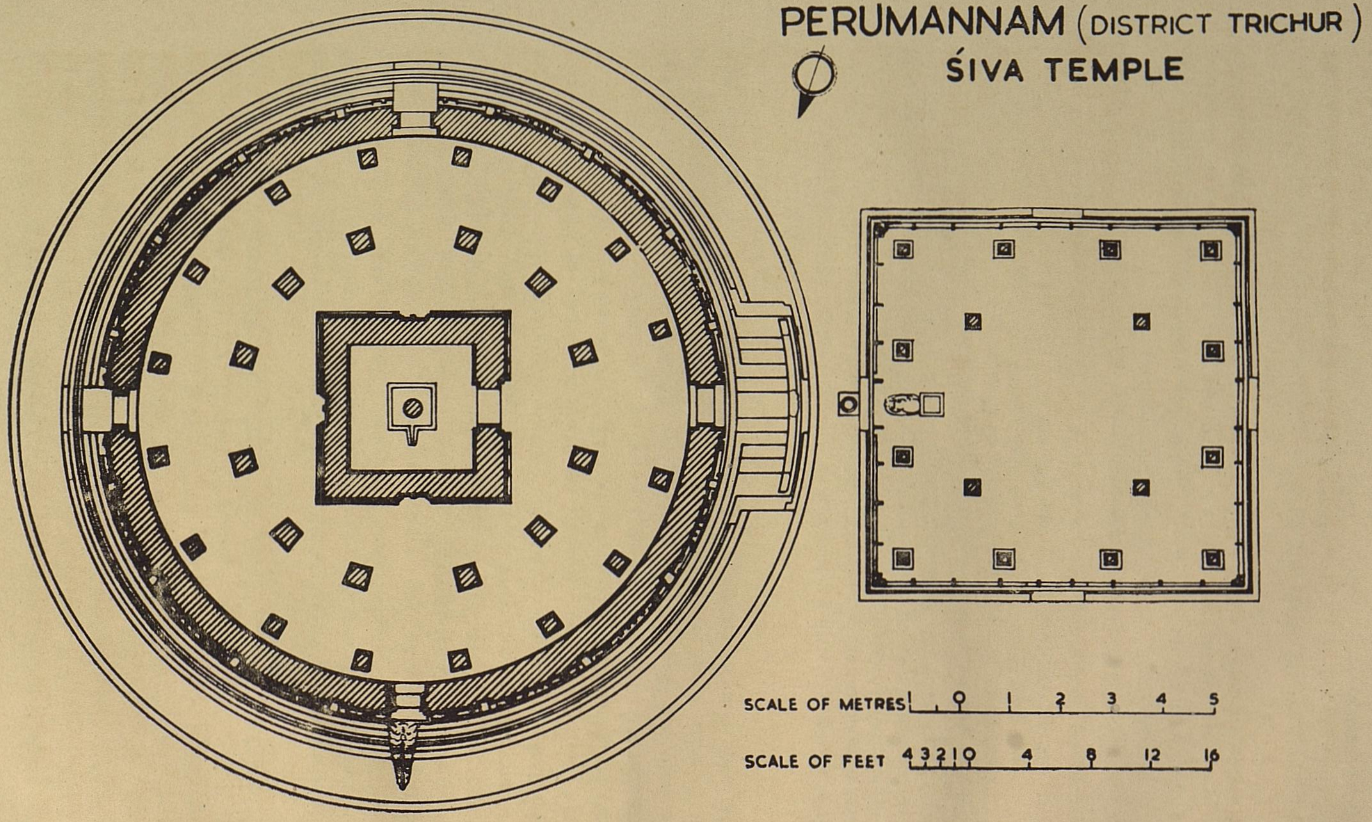
Soon after the oath, Travancore forces under Daḷava Ayyappan Mārtāṇḍa Piḷḷa and Gen. D' Lannoy, were sent to the north to assist the Cochin Rāja in expelling the Zamorin's troops from Cochin territory. On January 25, 1762, they reached Aňcikaymaḷ and attacked the Zamorin's positions. By 25th March the Zamorin's forces abandoned their positions in Paravūr and Ālaňňād and retreated to Koḍuňňallūr and Māprāṇam. They were pursued to Trichur, where they were attacked in the front by the Travancore army and in the rear by the Cochin soldiers. After a stiff fight, the Zamorin's men evacuated Trichur and retreated to Kunnamkuḷam and Cēlakkara. In the meantime the division under Gen. D' Lannoy dislodged the Calicut forces from Koḍuňňallūr and pursued them across the Cēṟṟuvāy river. From there he marched to Trichūr Via Ēnāmākkal but found the place already cleared of enemy troops. The combined army now advanced to Cēlakkara and after a severe fight drove them out of Cochin. From Cēlakkara, the Travancore army marched on Kunnamkuḷam, whereupon the Zamorin's forces retreated to Ponnāni. Gen. D' Lannoy now proposed to carry the war into the enemy territory but was countermanded, as the Zamorin becoming alarmed at his own safety, had sued for peace.

Soon after the termination of the war, the Cochin territory was cleared of the Zamorin's troops. According to the agreement of 936 M. E. [1760 A. D.], Paravūr and Ālaṇṇāḍ were ceded to Travancore. The King of Cochin, who was very much pleased with the exertions of Daḷava Ayyappan Mārtāṇḍa Piḷḷa, granted him the village of *Puttancirā* as a gift, but the patriotic Daḷava transferred the tract to Travancore.

Now the Zamorin having been driven out of the Kingdom, the Cochin Rāja took steps, with the assistance of the King of Travancore, to bring under his effective control the Chieftains and Nambutiri Brahmins of Cochin, who used to side with the Zamorin, whenever there was a fight between Cochin and the Zamorin. The several Nambutiri Brahmins who had acted in this wise were brought before the Vaḍakkunnāthan temple, their properties confiscated and privileges cancelled. The Pātākkara Nambūtirippāḍ who had accepted the chief priesthood from the Zamorin was deported. The chieftains who sided with the Zamorin during the invasion, were brought before Tiruvaňcikulam temple in Mithunam, 937 M. E. (June-July, 1761 A. D.) Several of the lesser chieftains were removed from their

positions, while the prominent chieftains were made to take the oath of allegiance to the King.

Thus by the seventeen sixties, the relations between the rulers of Travancore, Cochin and Calicut became crystallised, and the constant border clashes and civil wars in support of the chieftains of one another, came to an end. Though Cochin lost heavily in the war with Travancore, it was with the latter's help that she was able to defeat finally the Zamorin, whose ancestors to prove their hegemony over Cochin used to invade the country often. The overmighty chieftains of Cochin, who sided with the Zamorin against their own King, whenever the latter invaded Cochin, were now brought under effective control. Cochin was on the way to becoming a powerful kingdom on the Kēraḷa coast. But before this could happen, a thunderbolt of calamity befell the entire Kēraḷa coast in the form of the Mysorean invasions, which left the Zamorin crushed, Cochin powerless and even Travancore, the most powerful among the three, dependent on the rising English power.



PERUMANNAM (DISTRICT TRICHUR)
ŚIVA TEMPLE
SCALE OF METRES 0 1 2 3 4 5
SCALE OF FEET 4 3 2 1 0 4 8 12 16

Balustrade Sculptures of Kerala

BY

K. V. RAMAN

Introduction: The ornamental balustrades flanking the stepped entrances (*sopāna)* to the shrines form an interesting and distinguishing highlight of the Kerala temples. Probably, in no part of India, such special attention was bestowed on their beautification as in Kerala. The comparative dearth of sculptures and the meagre output of decorative stone work in Kerala temples is somewhat compensated by the sculptural display that one notices in their balustrades. Indeed, they form a special feature of Kerala temples, presenting as they do, a rich repertoire both in their form as well as their sculptural content, which deserve a special study. The vast majority of temples in Kerala have only granite structures upto the *adhisthana* level and the superstructures are invariably of the coarse cut laterite-a medium that could hardly lend itself to any sculptural or artistic work. Nor was the brick medium popular which would have provided scope for stucco work, as it did in Tamil Nadu. The absence of these traditions probably necessitated the adoption of a more tractable, though less imperishable medium, wood for the major part of construction. However, the granite balustrades, flanking the stepped entrances of the Kerala shrines, forming part of their *adhisthana*, [1] offer us a refreshing treat of sculptural exuberance. They serve to relieve considerably the severe austerity of the Kerala temples, though strangely enough, very little attention seems to have been paid to their study. This paper discusses some of the salient features of balustrades, their distribution, composition, styles and the art-motifs they carry.

Balustrade placement. In the location of the balustrades, two modes were adopted-the more common one was to have a flight of steps

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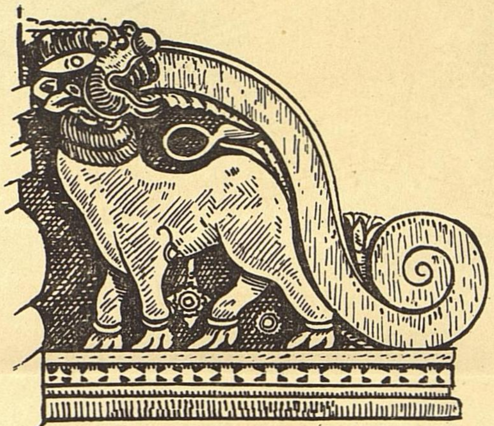
1. The *Tantrasamuccaya*, the most popular text on temple architecture in Kerala (15th century A. D.) states (v. 33) that the *sopāna* should be built of hard stone. should be symmetrical etc. Even when *adhisthana* was built of laterite, as in Kiḷēttaḷi temple, the balustrade was always built in granite only (Plate).

giving direct approach to the *adhisthana* and flanked by balustrades on either side; the other type is the frontal balustrade facing the shrine and attached to the lateral flight of steps, leading to the *Srikōvil.* This latter type is less common and is to be found in a few temples such as those at Kīḻētaḷi, Talakāḍu, Guruvāyūr Trikkūr (District Trichur): at Tiruvalla (District Alleppey); Tiruvallattūr (District Palghat) etc. At Tiruvalla, both the types are found-the side balustrade in front of Śrī Vallabha shrine and the frontal one for the Sudarśana shrine. Not only the main shrines but also many of the sub-shrines and even the *Kūttampalam* (dancing hall) have the ornamental balustrade at their entrances.

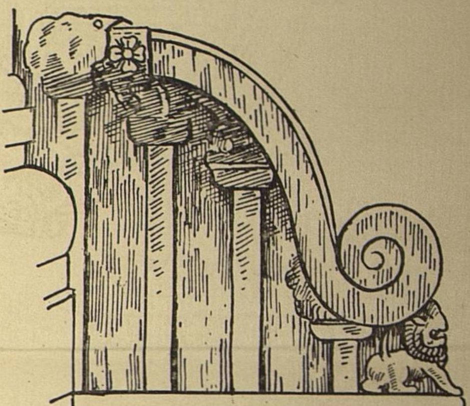
Composition and motifs: Generally, the balustrades in Kerala temples rest on a large *Padma-pīṭha base.* At the top is the face of the *Gajavyāḷa* (shown frontally), from whose mouth emanates its long trunk-like parapet which descends to the level of the last step. The tip of the trunk ends up in an upward coil which sometimes holds a lotus bud. A decorative creeper, with overflowing leaves (*patra-lata*), is always shown running the whole length of the inner periphery of the balustrades. All these three features, the *padma-pīṭha* base, the *vyāḷi* trunk flowing as parapet and the creeper motifs are shown in their natural and beautiful form in the earlier specimens, but they tend to become rather stylised and rigid in later examples, as shown in the sequel.

The earlier balustrades found in the rock-cut temples at Kaviyur and Tirunandikara are simple plain parapets for *Sōpāna* and do not show any art motifs, not even the *makara* or the *vyāḷi-mukha* at the top. But the balustrades of the later structural temples beginning from the 10th century A. D., do always carry the art-motifs such as the *vyāḷimukha* at the top with the intertwining creeper border and on the side-screen, such motifs as the lotus-medallion or the standing *vyāḷi* or the *pūrnakumbha* or the *sankha-nidhi* and *padma-nidhi*, the two principal treasures of Kubera or Gajalakshmi or simply the standing lighted lamps. A peculiar art-motif shown in many of the Kerala balustrades is the *ghanadvāra* (false doorway flanked by pilaster and the *dvārapālas* in profile (e. g. Tiruvallattūr in Palghat District), at Trikkur temple, a large frontal balustrade shows a shrine-door in the centre and the *Sankha-nidhi* and *Padmanidhi* seated on either side. The balustrade in the temple at Maniyur (Cannanore District) shows a seated Gajalakshmi over the shrine-door. In many

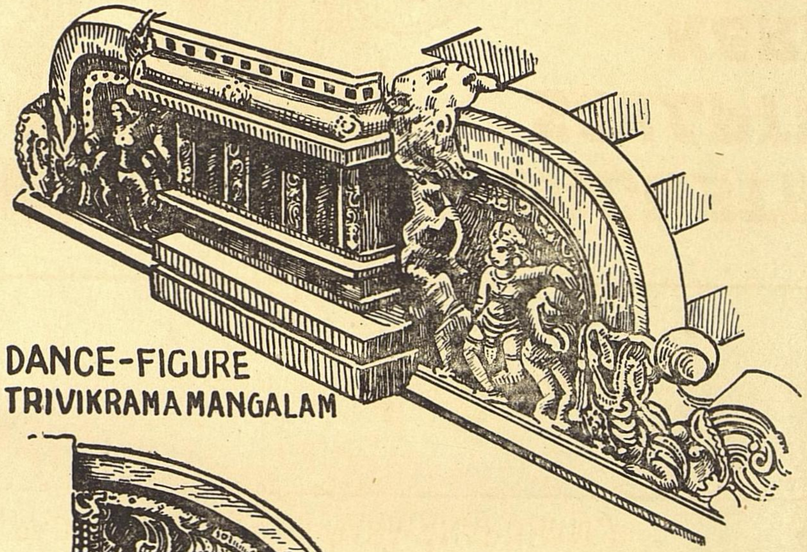
Balustrade Sculptures of Kerala



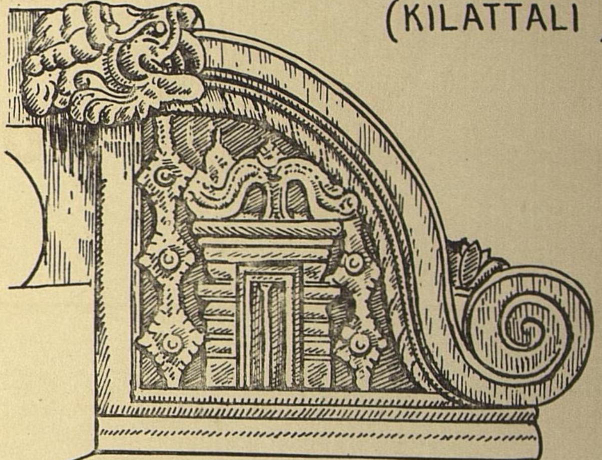
VYĀLI-(KILATTALI)



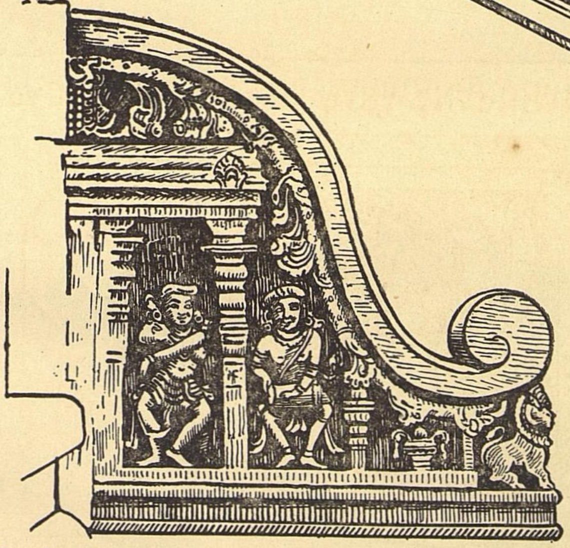
PILĀSATER-MOTIF (KILATTALI)



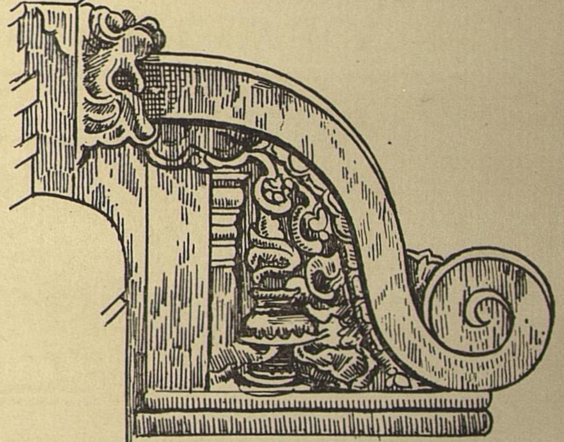
DANCE-FIGURE TRIVIKRAMA MANGALAM



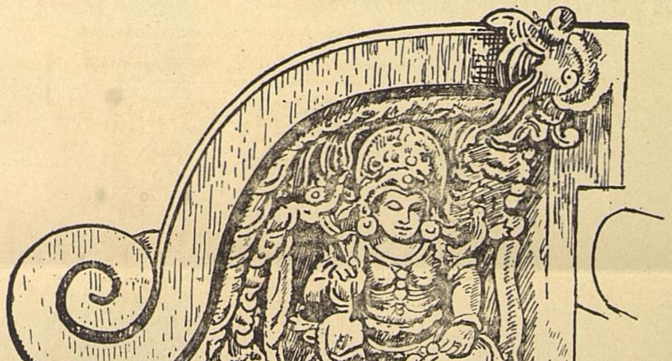
GANADH WĀRA-MOTIF (CRANGANORE)



DANCE-FIGURE, TIRUKULASEKARAPURAM



PŪRNA GHAṬA (CRANGANORE)



PADMA-NIDHI (SRI NARAYANAPURAM.)

GAJALAKSHMI ILAMBARAKKAVU (KOTTAYAM Dt.)

of the temples (e. g. Ravīśvara temple at Cranganore), the Padmanidhi alone is shown. In some other balustrades, a series of miniature shrine- models are depicted as at the Vishnu shrine at Tirumūḻikkaḷam. A *vimāna*-model with typical *śāla-śikhara* is depicted in the balustrade in front of the sanctum in the Tirukulaśēkharapuram temple.

The depiction of *vyāḷi-mukha* as the source from which the parapet emanates, is a recurring feature of all the balustrades. In many temples such as Kīḻēttaḷi and Vaḍakkunnātha temple at Trichur, the full figure of the *vyāḷi* is shown on the side-screen of the balustrades and its proboscis forming the parapet. This mythical half-lion, half-elephant became very popular in the south and was widely adopted for pillar and balustrade motifs, as can be seen in well known temples such as Srirangam, Kanchi and Madurai.[2] Probably, this motif was adopted in the place of the *makara* prescribed in ancient texts. Even the *Tantrasamuccaya* prescribes only the *makara* mouth as the source of the creeper-like parapet for the *sopāna*, but in practice always the *vyāḷi* was depicted either in its full robust standing form or only its mouth alone. The motif was evidently looked upon as a symbol of strength and royalty represented by the elephant and the lion. In only one temple (at Trivikramamaṅgalam), both the *makara* and *vyāḷi* faces are shown-the former at the lower end and the latter at the top end of the balustrade (Travancore Archaeological Series, VI p 59). One of the earliest representations of full standing *vyāḷi* type of balustrade is found at Kīḻēttaḷi temple.

Sculptural themes: Apart from depicting the traditional auspicious symbols of plenty and prosperity, the balustrades also portray many sculptural themes which show wide range and depth. The rationale behind the choice of these is not clear and would admit of more than one explanation. In some temples, aspects or incarnation of main presiding deity are intended to be shown. For example, in the Vishnu temple at Guruvayur, the balustrade portrays Krishna in the *Kāliyamarddana* pose; the balustrade in front of the Sudarśana shrines at Tiruvalla has a large panel of Nrisimha, another form of

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2. At the famous Chola temple at Darasuram (c. 1150 A. D.) there is a unique type of the balustrade in which the *makara* is shown at the bottom and both elephant and lion in full form overlapping with each other is shown. In Kerala temples the standing *vyāḷi* type is found both in the early and late temples with some difference in style.

Vishnu; the Alagathur temple at Koyalmannam (Palghat District) has a balustrade in its front showing Ganesa and Subramanya on their respective vehicles; The Subrahmanya temple at Kulur (Trichur District) shows Umasahita-Siva in the front balustrade. But of a different category, are the two Vishnu temples at Tiruvalla which show aspects of Siva on their balustrades. Of the two, the Sri Vallabha temple has the balustrade carrying the beautiful sculptures of Dakshiṇāmūrti on either side, whereas the other temple, viz., Krishnasvami temple has balustrade portraying an exquisite image of Naṭaraja performing the cosmic dance. The free-rendering of the Siva aspects in Vishnu temples and *vice-versa* is a remarkable feature in Kerala temples, attesting to the eclectic outlook that marked the religious atmosphere of the land. The depiction of Dakshiṇāmūrthi and Nataraja sculptures at the entrance balustrades of a Vishnu shrine is almost unthinkable or unknown in the context of Tamilnadu, but not so in Kerala, which was the home of Siva-Vishnu integration and centre of worship of Harihara-putra or Sasta, the divine offspring of Siva and Vishnu. There are quite a number of temples for Sankara-narayana in Kerala and some of the leading temples like the Krishna temple at Trikulaśekharapuram (near Cranganore) and Vaḍakkunnātha at Trichur have shrines consecrated for both Siva and Vishnu within the same compound.

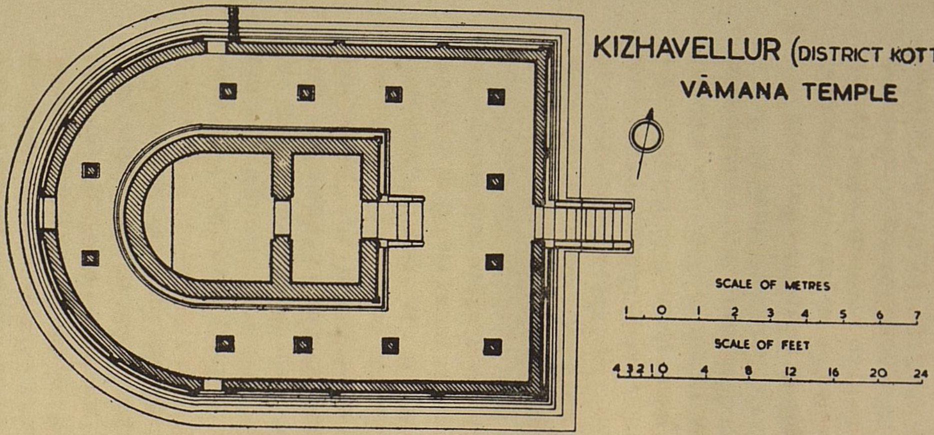
Besides gods and goddesses, the balustrades also display scenes of socio-religious or secular nature. An outstanding example of this can be seen in the Tirukulaśēkharapuram temple, where fine panels of dancing scenes are charmingly rendered. Similar dancing figures in the Raṅga-maṇḍapa are seen in the beautiful balustrades of the Tiruvikkramaṅgalam temple (12th century A.D.)near Trivandrum (Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. VI, pt. I, p. 59). A balustrade depicting some of the folk dances like the *Kūdiyaṭṭam Kuḍakkūttu* is seen in the Vishnu temple at Tirukadittānam (11th cent. A. D)[3]

Style: Regarding their stylistic development, a few general points can be made. The earlier balustrades were evidently more short, steep and vertical, whereas the later ones became rather spread-out and massive. The proboscis and the creeper designs in the earlier ones flow in a smooth outline whereas

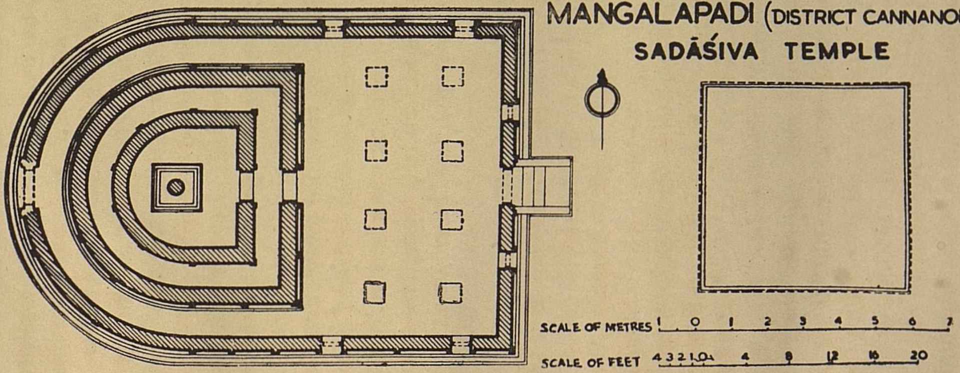
3. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, *Two Sculptural panels of Tirukkadittanam*, Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. V, Pt. II.

in the later ones, it is heavy and is often fluted. Many of the later ones have a lotus-bud at their tip. In some of the earlier ones (see Plates), a squatting lion is shown at the lower end which is absent in later examples. The coil at the top of the proboscis is naturalistic and to the minimum whereas in later examples, it is exaggerated. Apart from these general characteristics the stylistic features of the sculptures displayed by the balustrades would give us helpful clues for their probable age.

Conclusion: Thus, the ornamental balustrades of the entrance steps form a special feature of the Kerala temples. Always built of granite they often serve as the sculptural oasis in the midst of a vast featureless lateritic edifice. In them, we find not only the conventional auspicious symbols in different combinations but also a variety of iconographic themes and art-motifs which no student of Kerala temple-art can afford to miss.



KIZHAVELLUR (DISTRICT KOTTAYAM)
VĀMANA TEMPLE



MANGALAPADI (DISTRICT CANNANORE)
SADĀŚIVA TEMPLE

Tirukkuṇavāy and the Inscription from Ālattūr

BY

K. G. KRISHNAN

Ālattūr, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in Palghat District in Kerala has a few antiquarian remains. They include two sculptures of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha and an inscribed slab[1]. A small bit at the lower left hand corner of the slab is broken off diagonally and this has not affected the text very much. The writing is nearly good, though in places the letters are cramped or slightly damaged[2]. The text of this inscription has been published along with the texts of a few other records[3]. Since the text given there is not correct, the record is being published here.

The inscription is in Tamiḻ language and Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of about the tenth century A. D. There is one well-known imprecatory verse in Sanskrit at the end of the text engraved in Grantha characters of the same period[4]. The letters are vertical and not slanting as they used to be found and is therefore comparable to the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription of Māṟan Caḍaiyan,[5] though it is much later to the latter from the point of view of palaeography. The dot is used in most cases to denote stop consonants. This appears to be the only specimen of its kind from North Kerala. A few features of the alphabet may be noted. The letters *a*, *k*, *r*, etc. are written vertically. The letters *t* and *ṉ* have not yet become full curves found in the late tenth century. The medial *i* sign is in most cases drawn from the right end of the letter with an upward trend instead of exactly from the right side along the line. Regarding

1. JIH, XLIV, pp. 537-43. For the photographs of the sculptures and the inscription see plates facing pp. 538 and 539.
2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1959-60 App. B. No 238. See also Introduction, p. 26 where the inscription is reviewed.
3. *JIH*, XLVIII, Part III, pp. 691 ff. Shri M. G. S. Narayanan says that he has deciphered the record *in situ*.
4. The reading of this last line by Narayanan shows that he has not understood it.
5. *TAS*, I, Plate facing p. 156. This belongs to the 8th century.

orthography the text does not contain much of the dialectal peculiarities which are usually found in the contemporary records of the area. In the case of words such as *nāṟpattennāiravar* and *mūvāiravar*, the vowel *i* is used in the place of *yi*.

The inscription records that the groups called Nāṟpatteṉṉāyiravar and Mūvāyiravar, the *adhikārar* of Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar. the *pati*, *pādamūlam*, *attikōśam*, *śiṟṟattāṇi* and the *aḍikaṇmār* of Nalanjiyar, the pati and *pādamūlam* assembled and made the (following) stone record i. e., made an arrangement and had it engraved *(śilā-lēkhai)*. It is stated that the Paḷḷipāḍu from Nalanjiyar, the *pallipāḍu* contributed by the *paḷḷi* establishments allied to the Nalanjiyar, the *uḷaikkalam* of any sort and another item (name not clear) of any sort shall not be misappropriated *(pugavu)* mortgaged *(oṟṟi)*, pledged as surety or bet *(paṇaiyam)* or paid off as fine *(daṇḍam)*. Then follows the long imprecatory portion (lines 10–21). It is stated that those who transgress this arrangement shall incur the sins of 1) having defied the order *(āṇai)* of Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar and the royal order *(rājājñai)*, 2) having caused harm to holy bodies including *Pañca Paramēṣṭhigaḷ* and 3) having slayed sages, brāhmaṇas and cows. The inscription forbids them from any association with the Jaina monasteries *(paḷḷigaḷ)*. Similar injunctions were also laid against persons undertaking to cultivate the *paḷḷi* lands without approval. The feet of those who protect these *paḷḷigaḷ* were said to be set on the head of, apparently, the assembly. Last comes the well-known imprecatory verse 'svadattām' etc.

Text of the Inscription[6]

1 Svasti[7] [1] Nāṟpatteṇṇāi[8]
2 vavarum Muvvāiravarun = Tirukkuṇavāyt–
3 tēvar adikārarum padiyum pādamūlamum attikōśa–
4 muñ = chiṟṟattāṇiyun = Nalañjiyar–aḍigaṇmārum padiyu–
5 m Pādamūlamuṅ = kūḍi irund = amaitta śilālekhai Na–

6. From the photograph published in *JIH*, XLIV, facing p. 539. I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist for permitting me to consult also the impressions of the inscription preserved in his office.

7. The transliteration of the Tamil text is based on the principle of convertibility of surds and sonants.

8. We invite scholars to compare the text given here with the one given by Shri M. G. S. Narayanan in *JIH*, XLVIII, p 700.

6 lanjiyarppaḷḷi ḍum[9] idaṉ vaḻip-paḷḷigaḷ = *iḍum paḷḷi
7 pāḍum ev–vagaippaṭṭaṉavum uḻaikkalam = ev–vagaippaṭṭaṉavu–
8 m ... mbum ev–vagaippaṭṭaṉavum pugavum oṟṟiyum paṉaiya–
9 mum vaikkavun = daṇḍam = āgak – kodaikkavum -ṟidu kodukkavum peṟā–
10 r = āgavum ... r = āyil[10] avargaḷ Tirukkuṇavāyt–tēvar āṇaiyum rā–
11 jājñaiyu = maṟuttār āvar . ṉṉu . kattu ji mum Paña[11] para–
12 mēshṭhigaḷaiyum = tiṅg–i [ḷait] tārum = āvar iruḍigaḷaiyum birāmaṇaraiyu–
13 m . . rgaḷaiyum . . rgaḷaiyum paśukkaḷaiyum koṉṟa Panamā[11]
14 pādakarum = āvar avargaḷum avargaḷ santatiyum = ip-paḷḷigaḷu
15 [k] k = uriyarum — a[11]ar ip-Paḷḷigaḷiṉ būmigaḷum — uḻaikkalam — u . .
16 . . mbum ... m—uḻāk—kārāṇmaiyum—ev-vagaiyāluṉ— koḷvār
17 ... kuṇavāyt-tēvar-āṇaiyum rāj-ājnaiyum ...... amaittāraṇa
18 . . . . ko . . . . avargaḷu[kku]m=ev-vagaippaṭṭadun— Tirukkuṇavāyt - tē-
19 . . . . duga . . . ḷappaḷḷiyār [vai] kkakkadavar . . iṭṭa
20 . . . . ip-Palligal kāttār adi ni . . . mēlana [.]
21 . . . yō harēta vasundharāṁ shashṭhim varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyau — jāyate kṛimiḥ

Shri M.G.S. Narayanan has suggested on the basis of his readings that the readings of some words given by way of summary in the list in the Annual Report such as *aṭikanmār* and *Nālañjiyar* may be revised a› *atākārar* and *Vaḻañjiyar*. His suggestions are not only misleading but also reveal that he had not been able to trace the words in the stone! We have read *adikārar* in line 2 and *aḍigaṇmār* in line 4. Narayanan has read the word *adikārar* and could not locate the word *adigaṇmār* at all. Regarding the word Nālañjiyar (misquoted for our Nalañjiyar) he has read Valañjiyar. The photograph shows the letter *Na* at the end of line 5 clearly in the Vaṭṭe-ḻuttu form of *Na* (2). The second letter *la* of Nalañjiyar occurring at the end of line 6 can never be read as *ḷa*. Further this same word Nalañjiyar occurs in the middle of line 4 which has not been read by

9. The number of dots given in the text represents the exact number of letters that could not be read. *This letter can be restored as *Pā*.
10. May be restored as Peṟṟār=āyil.
11. Read *Pañca*.

him at all. Thus while he could not read or locate the words in question[12], it is unfortunate that he has suggested revision of the readings of the words given in the report, not to speak of their interpretation. The rest of his readings may be similarly compared by scholars with the text as published here.

The inscription begins with the enumeration of the groups that constituted the assembly. Nāṛpatteṇṇāyiravar and Mūvāyiravar are apparently bodies of laymen associated with the conduct of such affairs as recorded in the inscription. Such bodies bearing a nomenclature based on numbers are not unknown in Kerala or in Tamil Nadu, though their real significance is not yet clear[13]. The next group enumerated in the record appears to be comprised of the *adhikārar* i. e., the authorities of (the temple of) Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar, *Pati, Pādamūlam* and *siṟṟattāṇi*. The words *Pati* and *Pādamūlam* appear to stand for the worshipping priest and the servants inside the central shrine, who are dedicated to *Pati* (i. e. the lord) and his feet *(pāda)*. It may be noted that these expressions are met with in the inscriptions of the Tamil country especially those that are engraved on the walls of Siva temples.[14]. *Attikōśam* perhaps refers to elephant stables (*atti* for *hasti*) *S'iṟṟattāṇi* may stand for the minor couriers serving in the temple. The next group is said to consist of Nalañjīyar-aḍigaṇmār, the *pati* and the *pādamūla*. Nalañjiyar evidently refers to the pontiffs of a Jain monastery[15]. This is indicated by the words *paḻḻipādu* and *paḻḻigaḷ* occurring in line 6. This group consisted of the pontiff and the persons devoted to him i.e., his disciples. Thus the assembly consisted of three groups 1) the laity bearing a nomenclature based on numbers 2) the deity of Tirukkuṇavāy and

12. On the other hand he has read a word *paṭṭakaḷ* in line 2 which does not occur there or anywhere in the record.

13. *TAS*. I, pp. 168-9; III, p. 35; *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, p. 3; 1939-40, No. 402 etc.

14. *S. I. I.*, II, p. 111, text, lines 4-5 and footnote 3. The expression 'Pati-pādamūlap-paṭṭuḍaip-Pañcāchārya' occuring there has been wrongly translated as 'the Pañcāchāryar who wears a silk garment (in honour of) the feet or the lord! The word *Paṭṭuḍai* here does not mean silk garment. They are two verbal forms of the roots *paḍu* and *uḍai* thus leading to the meaning that the *pañcācāryar* were dedicated to the *pati* and his *pādamūla*. Pañcācāryar refer to the five persons including the priest, helper, cook etc; who have the right of entry into the central shrine.

15. Nalanjīyar reminds us of the name of a late medieval Vaishṇava pontiff as pointed out in A. R. *Ep*. 1959-60, p. 26.

all the authorities connected with it and 3) the pontiff of a monastery and his disciples.

This assembly is then stated to have gathered and to have made an arrangement recorded on stone. They laid down that *paḷḷipādu* and *uḻaikkalam* of whatever sort contributed or paid (*idum*, line 6) by Nalañjiyarpaḷḷi and other establishments associated with it should not be misappropriated, mortgaged or disposed off in a bet or as a fine. In effect this means that cash or kind realised so far by way of these levies need not be collected but ploughed back to the establishments. *Paḷḷipāḍu* is probably the name of a levy generally charged on a monastic establishment. *Uḻaikkalam* may stand for local *(uḻai)* taxes at the rate of one *Kalam* of grain per season or year. These levies may be variable ones. Then follow as already observed the imprecatory portion (lines 10-21) calling upon all not to transgress this arrangement and subjecting the defaulters to many sins. The mention of Pañca-paramēṣṭhigaḷ (lines 11-12) in this connection points definitely to the Jaina faith of the establishments, besides the word *paḷḷigaḷ*. Pañcaparamēṣṭhigaḷ refer to five Jaina gurus viz., Jina, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu or Sarasijavāsa[16]. It is interesting to note that the sins enumerated include the killing of cows and brāhmaṇas.

It will be seen from the inscription that the entire staff serving in the temple of Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar was associated with the transaction. It may be noted that all the other inscriptions mentioning Tirukkunavāy do not refer to the staff associated in the administration of the temple [17]. It will be therefore natural for us to conclude that the site where the inscribed slab and the two images were discovered represented the place where the temple of Tirakkuṇavāytg tēvar was situated. Therefore the location of Tirukkuṇavāy near the Chera capital is not correct. Nor is the identification of Tirukkuṇavāy with Guṇaka, Kuṇaka, Tirukkaṇāmatilakam, or Guṇapura

16. *Puṣpadantapurāṇam* āśvasa 1, verses 1-7.
17. All the other references cited by Narayanan refer only to the standard set-up at Tirukkunavāy. The texts of other inscriptions published by him also suffer from serious mistakes (e. g. Tiruvaṇṇūr inscription). Line 1 read wrongly by him as 'Kō Srī, Īrai Īrāyarkku' for 'ko Srī Ṣrī Vala Irāmarkku' as supported by the illustration in *S. I. I.*, V, plate facing p. 338. Narayanan also takes credit for having 'located the stone's where-abouts, which according to him 'were not known for a long time' in the Collector's bungalow, though the *SII* records it very clearly.

correct. The inscription makes it clear that Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar was a Jaina deity whereas the evidence from *Sandēśa-kāvyas* of Kērala indicate that the presiding deity at Guṇaka identified with modern Tirukkaṇāmadilakam was Śiva. It will be very uncharitable if not unscientific to say as stated by Narayanan that the poets who described the deity at Guṇaka as Purāri or Śiva were ignorant of the religious denomination of the temple [18]. Therefore it is clear that Tirukkuṇavāy has to be located at Ālattūr and that it is different from Guṇaka or Guṇapura which may be identified with Tirukkaṇāmatilakam. The excavations at Cranganore by the Archaeological Survey of India will pertain to Guṇaka and not to Tirukkuṇavāy.

The *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* contains a review of this inscription. Closely following a short summary of its contents, it says the following by way of comments: "The name of the deity Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar reminds us of Kuṇavāyiṟkōṭṭam where the saintly author of the *Śilappadikāram* is stated to have retired after renouncing his rights to the Chera throne (*paḍikam*, lines 1-2)": This remark in the Report, ignored by Narayanan, simply draws the attention of scholars to the possibility of the identification of Tirukkuṇavāy with Kuṇavāyiṟ-kōṭṭam. It will be however hazardous to propose the identification without further evidence. The Pudāḍi[19] Tāḻakkāvu inscription assignable to about the tenth century contains the date *nūṟṟaimpattēḻu* i. e. 157[20] of the deity Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar, thus suggesting that the deity must have been consecrated sometime not earlier than the middle of the eighth century. If Tirukkuṇavāy can be identified with Kuṇavāyir-kōṭṭam, the date of the composition will have to be revised. But the question of this date should rest on more solid grounds than on this hazardous identification.

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18. See, *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, p. 11 and note 46. The stanza (no. 14) from *Śuka-sandēśa* quoted in the note clearly refers to the Siva temple at Guṇapuram. See also, *Mayūrasandēśa* (verse 93) which also refers to the Śiva temple at Guṇaka near Māhōdaya (i. e., Makōdai of Tamil Literature).
19. This Pudāḍi seems to be referred to as Pudavīḍu (See *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, p. 12).
20. The composition of this number written in letters on the stone is as follows: *nū ṟ ṟai m pa t tē ḻu*. Narayanan's reading of *nūṟṟumuppattēḻu* is impossible.

The Ruling class and its Governing elite of Kerala

BY

DR. R. RAMAKRISHNAN NAIR

The Middle class is in power in Kerala. The Central Middle class provides the governing elite. Leadership of all political parties from Naxalites to the Jan Sangh belongs to the same class. The control and leadership of all the major trade unions, service organisations, cultural bodies, students unions, organisations of teachers and communal and religious organisations rest with the same class. Agitations that have been going on in the state are not expression of class conflict in the Marxian sense but only inter-class rivalries. The upper class is only a microscopic minority, weak, apologetic and frightened and having little influence in politics The upper middle class is influential by being the milch-cow of all parties but not dominant. Nor does it wield power. Its influence is more on certain parties and organisations. The lower middle class and the lower class—the masses—are kept quiet by flattery, deception and entertainment. The central-Middle class is eager to conserve the political power which it got in 1947 and skilfully refuses to share it with the lower class. The dominant class is literally a mongrel group. It is mediocre in every respect. It was unable to produce intellectuals of any outstanding quality. It possesses neither the aristocratic virtues, nor the capitalist efficiency nor the proletarian thoroughness. Compared to the Middle class in the Western countries the Kerala Middle class is only proletariat. Despite all its tall talk about progressivism, it is basically of peasant stock not urban, and essentially conservative not radical. As the upper class ceased to be an enemy, and social reforms no longer an issue and political power secured, the role of the middle class as a revolutionary force is over. It is concerned with consolidation and conservation of its position, power and prestige. While in the West socialism developed against liberalism—the philosophy of the Middle class—in Kerala the Middle class champions socialism for they are so poor as to be benefited by the socialisation of the means of production if ever it happens! Incompetent, narrow-minded, unimagin-

ative and short-sighted it bungles the political power and is puzzled over the magnitude of the economic problems which are crying for urgent solution. Inability or failure to solve these problems means more pressure to be exerted by lower classes to share power; which in all probability they would resist. The next struggle for power in the state would therefore be between the Central Middle Class on the one hand and the lower middle class leading the lower class on the other. The present political leadership which will be then on the defensive should be the first casualty.

The class system is a modern phenomenon. It is the aftermath of the disintegration of feudalism in Europe. It was never created. There are no laws which prepetuate classes. On the other hand in democratic countries law establishes equality. Consequently no class as such enjoys any legal privilege. Class is a collective noun. It is not an organised unit. Classes are not religious units like castes. Members of different castes may belong to the same class. Classes are not even voluntary associations. But classes are discernible entities and not a mere medley of disparate elements.[1]

That group of people in the society whose possession of economic means, external standard of living, educational standard, cultural and recreational possibilities are more or less similar is considered as constituting a class. Definitions of classes are many. People in a society may be divided or classified several ways. The criterion suggested by Morris Ginsberg and the definition given by him is broadly accepted here for the purpose of discussion. According to Ginsberg classes in modern societies may be described as groups of individuals who, through common descent, similarity of occupation, wealth and education, have come to have a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes and forms of behaviour and who on any or all these grounds, meet one another on equal terms and regard themselves, although with varying degrees of explicitness, as belongs to one group.[2] People may not be aware to which class they belong. But there is a common conciousness of kind in relation to members of one's class, a confidence that one can meet them on equal terms and that one's mode of behaviour will be in harmony

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1. Egon Ernest Bergel, *Social Stratifications* (N. Y., 1962), p. 209.
2. Morris Ginsberg, 'Class Conciousness', *Encyclopedia of the Sccial Sciences* (New York, 1957).

with the behaviour prevalent in the group. Members of the same class have not only identical but also conflicting interests. In fact rarely we find complete harmony within a class.

As on the question of what is a class there are widely varying opinions on the number of classes in a social system. It is difficult to give the exact number of classes in a society because class lines are drawn vaguely. The simplest and the easiest division is one into two groups: upper and lower classes. The division of people into haves and have nots, or ruling class and ruled is at least as old as Plato. Even today these terms are frequently used in ordinary conversations. They became popular since the French Revolution and especially since Karl Marx had given prominence to them in his works. In Marxian theory the people are divided into two categories—the ruling class and one or more subject classes and that there is perpetual conflict between the ruling class and the subject class or classes. Marx anticipated that the polarisation of the two principal classes—the bourgeoisie and the industrial working class—would accompany the development of capitalism. But as G. D. H. Cole has rightly remarked, it did not happen even in the advanced capitalist countries.[3] On the other hand the plain truth is that the social structure of a country has become much too complicated for easy breaking up into two classes. The growth, not the extinction, of the new middle class and a much more complex differentiation of occupation and status, the introduction of the universal adult franchise which produces in principle a separation between economic and political power made the notion of a distinct and settled class dubious and unclean.[4]

A number of studies have been made in Europe and the U.S.A. recently on social stratification and class structure. But among the social scientists there is no general agreement about the exact number of classes possible in a society. However, they discarded the two-fold division and there is a vague acceptance of a tripartition i. e. broadly there are three classes: the upper, the middle and the lower. While Harold Kaufman distinguishes no less than eleven classes W. L. Warner starting with the familiar tripartition subdivides each

3. G. D. H. Cole, *Studies in Class Structure* (London, 1961), p. 48.
4. T. B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, (London, 1964) discusses the principal difficulties in Marxian conception of class division.

class into two upper and lower stratum.[5] Warner's classification, subject to one change is accepted here for our discussion. The change adopted is that the middle class is divided into three instead of two.

III

The idea of a ruling class as opposed to a subject class which originated in the study of a particular historical situation — the end of feudalism and the beginning of modern capitalism — is inapplicable to Kerala situation. In Kerala Society during the first half of the nineteenth century a new class — the middle class emerged. It spearheaded the struggle for responsible government and since 1947 that class continues to be in power. No longer there is the combination of social predominance, economic power and political power in the same class. The class which was at the apex of social hierarchy has fallen with the disintegration of the hierarchy itself. Nor does it continue as the wealthiest class. The wealthiest class does not control political power. So, with the growth of the middle class, introduction of universal adult franchise, crisis of joint family system, and liquidation of landlordism, the Kerala class structure has been completely changed.

Class structure of Kerala, on the basis of income, may be viewed as follows:

I. Lower class-(income below Rs. 2000/- a year)	1) Lower — lower - class	People who own nothing, who have neither property nor abilities and people whose income is below the level of subsistence i.e. one rupee a day.
	2) Upper — lower class	People whose income is above the level of subsistence but below Rs. 2000/- a year.

5. P. H. Rossi, *Latent Structure Analysis and Research on Social Stratification*, (Columbia, 1951). The chapter on "How many classes are there" is good. Harold Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*; W. L. Warner and others, *Social Class in America*; Also see M. Gordon, *Social Class in American Society*. *Ibid.*, n. 1.

II.	Middle Class (Income between Rs. 2000/- and Rs. 20000/- a year)	1) Lower — middle class	Income between Rs. 2000/- and Rs. 3600/- a year.
		2) Middle — middle class	Income between Rs. 3600/- and Rs. 12000/- a year.
		3) Upper — middle class	Income between Rs. 12000/- and Rs. 20000/- a year.
III.	Upper Class (Income above Rs. 20000/- a year)	1) Lower — upper class	Income between Rs. 20000/- and Rs. 60000/- a year.
		2) Upper — upper class	Income above Rs. 60000/- a year

It does not tally with the social and political stratification. Those who are at the top in terms of nobility, educational qualifiications, culture, etc. may not be there in the upper income group. On the other hand some of the people who were once at the top of the social hierarchy, are found in the lowest class. Ministers, members of the legislature and leaders of political parties who are supposed to be at the top in the political hierarchy do not belong either to the lower or the upper class. Neither the lower nor the upper class is the ruling class in Kerala.

Nearly forty per cent of the population of the state, about eighty lakhs of people, live below the level of subsistence ie., without an income of one rupee a day. It goes without saying that they do not rule the state. Nor are they influential with the rulers. According to the 1971 census forty per cent of the people are illiterate. One should not presume that all the illiterate are poor. However, the vice-versa may be true. The bulk of the lowest strata is composed of people whose ancestors were once slaves, untouchables and hill tribes.

The upper-lower class is represented by the last grade employees in government service like the sweepers, scavengers and others, their

counterparts in public and private enterprise, the landless tenants who were benefited by the recent allotment of ten cents of land, agricultural labourers, village artisans, petty traders and shop-keepers, coolies, casual labourers and people of that kind. It is a fertile field for leftist ideas. Naturally it is the class most exploited by parties who preach socialism. Unlike the lowest strata of people there are several organisations in this class and therefore not left so much neglected as the lowest. The multiplicity of leftist parties is confusing them. Failure of Communists as ruling parties gives rise to crisis of their expectation. For the time-being the Communists manage by explaining away their failures as due to the unsympathetic, non-cooperative and occasionally hostile attitude of the Central Government and by raising the bogey of bourgeoisie constitution and judiciary. The upper-lower class may constitute nearly thirty per cent of the population. Thus the lowest class has a strength of seventy per cent. How long they could be fooled, deceived, kept quiet by false promises and deliberately kept away from power? The leadership of all political part'es in the state is supremely indifferent in transferring power to the local bodies. The implication is that they wanted to avoid the transfer of power to the masses – the seventy per cent of the population

The upper class is a microscopic minority. It may not come even one percent of the population. With the series of land reforms the landlord class is practically liquidated. At present, the members of the old ruling families, big estate owners, leading business men, wholesale dealers, exporters-importers, big shop keepers, industrialists and manufacturers come under this category. This class has only very few organisations and none of them very influential. The members of this class more or less avoid politics; they never offer themselves as candidates and very often do not even exercise their voting rights. They are perennial milch-cows of top leaders of political parties, whose followers on the public platforms, particularly during elections, cry for their blood and confiscation of their property in order to expedite the advent of socialism! They are a powerless and out-numbered minority, much maligned, frightened and apologetic about their existence.

IV

While the Middle class in European society is as old as the Renaissance and the Reformation, the Kerala Middle class is a nine-

teenth century product, emerged under the impact of British imperialism. Kerala social system at the dawn of the 19th century consisted of a caste-ridden, and hierarchically organised, Hindu society and parallel to it, three other small religious communities—the Christians, the Muslims and the Jews.[6] The Hindu society was divided and subdivided into numerous castes and sub-castes with a submerged base of slave and untouchable classes. Broadly they were divided into two upper castes and polluting castes. The upper castes which was once the upper class consisted of Nampūdiris at the top, Kshatriyas just below and the Nairs below them. Each of the three was subdivided into a bewildering number of groups.[7] Those who were at the bottom of each sub-division are naturally away from power and prestige and comparatively closer to the upper layer of the lower castes. In the polluting castes the Ezhavas were at the top and constituted a considerable bulk of the population. Artisans, astrologers, fishermen, hunters and the slaves-that class now called the scheduled castes and tribes war below them.

Christians, Muslims and the Jews were outside the pale of caste system. Christians were found in places between Kunnamkulam in the north and Quilon in the South. A small Jewish community lived in Cranganore. From Cannanore to the South along the coast, principally in towns, a local muslim community grew up around the warehouses and settlements of Arab Muslim traders.[8] As all other occupations except trade were hereditary and traditional, they entered the commercial life of the country.

The Middle class was born out of the lower strata of the upper caste Hindus, and the upper strata of the lower caste Hindus in combination with their counterparts in Christian and the Muslim Communities. The environment was set ready by the following events. The representatives or the messengers of British capitalism held the reins of administration of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore in the first decade of the 19th century. (In 1800 Col. Macaulay was appointed the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin. In 1801 Major Macleod was appointed Collector of Malabar and he was in

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6. K. M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala* (Annamalai, 1960), p. 10.
7. M. S. A. Rao, *Social Change in Malabar* (Bombay, 1957) p. 19. See for details of Caste division in the Hindu Society — *Census Report* Travancore, 1901. *Census Report*, Cochin, 1901. Logan, W , *Malabar*, Vol . I & II.
8. K. M. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

full charge of the administration. In 1810, Col. Munro was appointed Dewan of Travancore and subsequently of Cochin as well). The beginning of western system of education, starting of the printing press, attempts at large-scale cultivation of commercial crops, incentives for large-scale conversion to Christianity, introduction of land reforms resulting in the further weakening of feudal systems, opening up of new avenues for occupation other than the traditional agriculture with its goal of self-sufficient village economy etc. expedited the emergence of a new class—the Middle class.

The bulk of the new class was Christians who received encouragement if not the patronage of the British rulers. There were stray elements of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Nairs were there in good number. Next to the Nairs were Ezhavas and a sprinkling of Muslims. It may be noted that the very aristocratic and orthodox families of no community had reasons to send their recruits to the new class in the beginning. The new class gradually supplied teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, clerks, managers and workers in the tea, rubber, cardamom estates, mechanics, drivers, etc. Stagnation in the society was relieved and there was marked mobility. New townships sprang up. Roads and bridges connected distant places. In the newly sprung up townships, in the estates, in the new schools, etc. the caste distinction slowly got evaporated. There was visible change in dress, address, way of life and social relationship. The new class had come to the stage. It heralded a new social relationship with equality as its key note, individualism as its life breath and profit as its main consideration. A new morality and a new outlook replaced the old.

V

The ascendancy of the new class was rapid. By 1891 it was grown so much as to make its political debut. In Travancore a memorandum was submitted to the Maharaja asking him to give them due share in government service; which was at that time monopolised by the Tamil Brahmins.[9] It was the first joint political venture of the Middle Class.[10]

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9. *The Malayali Memorial*, 1891.
10. For details see R. Ramakrishnan Nair, *Constitutional Experiments in Kerala*, 1964, p. 5.

In the first decade of the present century the new class busied itself with its struggle against social bondage, known as the social reform movements. The Christian Community was rather a model to others. The Middle class elements of other communities felt that the absence of an organisation like the church was a serious draw-back to their respective communities. Further, the middle class among Nairs and Ezhavas thought that their joint-family system which was found as a stumbling block must be abolished and instead small families like those of the Christians must be set up. The dowry system prevalent in the Christian community was viewed as an excellent incentive to the new couples to begin a business, as a source of their own income, independent of the other relatives. Among the untouchables, the educated Ezhavas started wondering how they could liberate themselves from the social curse. While their counterparts in the Christian and Muslim communities do not have the social disability of untouchability why should they suffer it ? The middle class elements in each community started attempting at modernisation. The Ezhavas formed the SNDP Yogam, the Nam-pudiris the Yogakshema Sabha, the Nairs the Nair Service Society, the Kshatriyas their organisation and so forth. The Vaikam Satyagraha, the Guruvayoor Satyagraha, the movement for temple entry for all Hindus irrespective of castes etc. were on the initiative of the middle class elements.

It was the Middle Class, then, that upheld and championed nationalism, liberalism, Gandhism and socialism and initiated, guided, and spear-headed the struggle for responsible government. Two factors deserve our special attention. During the freedom struggle the role played by the Christian Church was progressive. Unlike the Church in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries which aligned itself with the ancient regime against the rising middle class, the church in Kerala aligned itself with the middle class against the old order. Secondly, during the freedom struggle a cleavage developed within the Middle class. In the early period that closely followed the birth of the Indian National Congress, the Congress movement appeared in Malabar which was a part of the Madras province. The Congress movement at that time was controlled by the educated men of the land owning class. As the Congress was developed into a mass move-ment since Gandhi took over its leadership and the Congress began urging for moderate land reforms, the upper class was dislodged from leadership by the upper middle class. The leadership of the upper middle class was challenged by the Central Middle class by the

end of the thirties and the beginning of the forties of this century. The leadership of the Congress Socialist Party and the Communist Party in Kerala who successfully challenged the Upper-Middle Class leadership, belonged to the Central Middle Class. The Central Middle Class posed as the champion of the lower middle class and the down-trodden. They did it because of sheer necessity. They could appeal only to the people below them as those who were above looked down upon them as mere misguided upstarts, whose advice they did not want. Necessarily therefore the Central Middle Class in order to strengthen and ensure their leadership fraternised with lower classes and upheld their causes. In the process they organised trade unions of the workers and peasants, they organised teachers, students, government servants and others. It is to them that the power was transferred in 1947.

VI

What is the composition of the Middle Class? Compared to the Middle Class in the Western countries the Middle Class in Kerala is only the proletariat and compared to the Middle Class in the Indian society it has only the standard of a lower Middle Class. The people who are in the income group of Rs. 150/-to Rs. 1500/- per month come under the category-the Middle class. In terms of educational qualifications roughly it comes to people having qualification between seventh standard and M. A. degree. As regards occupations and professions, the classification made by B. B. Misra of the Indian Middle classes is acceptable with certain modifications.[11] (1) The main body of clerks, assistants and other non-manual workers. (2) The main body of students engaged in higher education at a university or comparable level. (3) School and College teachers and the officers of the local bodies, social and political workers. (4) Shopkeepers and hotel-keepers, managers, accountants, and other officers employed in the concerns opearating in such fields. (5) Owners of medium range business firms, trading concerns and plantation industry, and salaried managerial hands employed and owners of landed property in the rural areas which fetch about Rs. 2000/– and more annual income. (6) The members of the principal recognized professions, salaried or otherwise such as lawyers, doctors, lecturers, Readers, Professors, the upper ranges of writers, journalists, musicians, and artists, religious preachers and priests. (7) Officers in

11. B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classe.* (London, 1961)

Government service, Executive staff in public and private enterprises, quasi-governmental bodies and cultural and educational institutes, excepting those beyond the ranks of Secretaries to government, Judges of High Courts and Vice Chancellors of Universities. (8) Leaders of political parties, trade unions, office-bearers of co-operative bodies, chambers of commerce and other trade bodies, political organisations, and bodies for philanthropic and social work.

VII

Political power since 1947 has been with the Middle Class. The Congress Ministry and the PSP Ministry upto 1956 were more amenable to the influences of the Upper class and the upper middle class than the Ministries in the State since 1957. The bulk of the leadership of the communist parties, while belonging to the same central middle class to which the Congress and Socialist leadership also belonged, was more successful than the latter in eliciting the support of the lower classes of people. The Congress leaders, before 1957, having been trained in and used to the pre-independence election techniques of depending on local VIPs and wealthy persons for securing votes (the election was based on restricted franchise and property qualifications) depended on the leadership of the various communal organisations and the clergy for catching votes and upper and upper middle class people for election finance and neglected the lower middle class and the lower classes. The ascendancy of the Communists to power forced them to revise their strategy and techniques, and to adopt the Communist techniques to win elections. The Communists utilised the slogan of socialism, befriended the lower Middle class and the lower classes by closer contacts, promises and evoking hopes and making them conscious always of their rights and never, of their duties. The United Front technique was also skilfully employed to bring together all anti-Congress and non-Congress votes. Further the Communists had taken pains to organise all easily organisable sections of the society like the workers, students, teachers and others. The Socialists tried to imitate the Communists with little success. The Congress since 1957 emulated and competed with the Communists and came out successful by 1970. The Congress has now a powerful, state-wide youth wing, students' organisation, and a number of trade unions. At the same time the dependence of the Ruling Congress is being decreased on the Communal organisations, the Church and the upper class. The best illustration is the patronage shown by the Catholic Church on the Kerala Congress and the leaning of the NSS towards the Kerala Congress.

A major change which affects almost all political parties is taking place within the middle class. The old generation of leaders like Pattom Thanu Pillai, C. Kesavan, Panampalli Govinda Menon, R. Sankar, E. M. S. Nampoodiripad, C. Achutha Menon, M. N. Govindan Nair, T. V. Thomas, and others who, despite many of their short-comings, could command respect of the people, the government servants, the police force and others mainly due to their record of service in the freedom struggle, is shrinking. The new generation of leaders do not command much respect. Political leaders are considered as people who turn to politics as they do not find better avenues elsewhere—persons with no commendable social, economic, and academic background. At the same time, because of the acute problem of unemployment among the educated, more qualified persons with B.As., M.As., LL.Bs. are perforce getting into the government service as NGOs,, the position in which they feel frustrated. They look down upon political leaders, including Ministers as inferior stuff. The Government employees like other organised sections have learnt from experience that with the backing of strong organisations they could bully any Ministry. The present trend is that that tendency would be on the increase and a situation would arise where no Ministry would have the courage or self-confidence to withstand the pressure of its employees. Even today the organised section of people are emerging as a tyranny over the unorganised. Not only that one hundred and eighteen crores of rupees out of the total one hundred and twenty one crores of annual revenues of the state government are eaten up by its employees but also they have started showing callous indifference to the public interests and misusing trade union rights.

Political power has been with the Central Middle Class. But actually it has been wielded by an elite. Since 1947 there has been steady deterioration in the quality of that governing elite. From Pattom Thanu Pillai to C. Achutha Menon there may not be any degeneration in the quality of Chief Ministers. But the same cannot be said in the cases of Ministers. The members of the Council of Ministers, and the second line of leaders of political parties are not men who could stand far above the average level of the ruling class. In other words the necessary gap between the ruling class and the governing elite has been narrowed down. Ministers and political leaders find it difficult to command the respect of the rank and file of the party, the employees of the government and the general public. The net result would be that the governing elite instead

of leading the state would be dictated by the leaders of the organised groups.

VIII

We now turn to the characteristics of the ruling class and its governing elite. (1) It is mediocre in every respect, economic affluence, cultural standards, intellectual ability, integrity and far-sightedness. (a) The irresponsible way in which political parties, while in opposition, giving out promises to the people and supporting all sorts of agitations, irrespective of their merits, against government and ruling parties, is evidence of inherent unscrupulousness, and lack of far-sightedness. (b) The Middle Class has not produced so far any brilliant men of international reputation. We have statesmen, scientists, scholars, lawyers, professors, doctors, journalists, educationalists and others but not of any exceptional quality. The level of intellectuals is awfully substandard. On the whole the intellectuals are meek, submissive, unassertive and careerist. Most of them are easily purchasable. It is torturing to see the intellectuals going after civil servants and politicians in office on bented knees for some favours or other instead of being pillars of strength and columns of courage giving out free, frank and fearless criticism with a view to elevate the level of our society. (c) The Middle class is not even ambitious. If you ask some of the very well-to-do and well-placed and well-educated members of the class what they want their children to be, the answer will be IAS officer or doctor or engineer with a good private income or something like that, beyond which they could not even aspire. So narrowly limited is their vision. How could such a people produce great men? How could such a people make their country great? (2) The Middle class is a mongrel group. The products of cross-fertilisation are there in plenty. Nampoodiri, Kshatriya, Nair, Ezhava, Christian, Muslim blood are mixed up. The illegitimate products- the bastards and the upstarts-will naturally have a low cultural standard. (3) The progressivism of the Middle Class is dried up. It is now conservative. So long as the upper class and feudalism were there as forces to be resisted and over-powered the Middle class was progressive. But since it possessed political power, its interest has been to consolidate it and conserve it mainly for its benefits. The Middle Class constitutes less than thirty per cent of the population. It is reluctant to share power with the overwhelming majority of people-the lower classes. There is incontrovertible evidence to prove this. Every political party that counts in Kerala politics was a ruling party in the state at one

time or other. But no party has ever made any honest attempt to give substantial powers to the local bodies. It is not that the local bodies of today are manned by the representatives of the lower classes. They are not. But if there is a thorough decentralisation of authority, say, for example something like autonomy for local bodies, the participation of lower classes of people will definitely be more. Authority, responsibility and rights must be with the people in order to make democracy more meaningful. Every Ministry in the State only postponed, as far as possible, the elections to the Panchayats. Even the Ministries formed by those parties who exhort the people to fight against the Central Government to extract more powers for the state government only refused to give more powers to the local bodies. These are indications of the extreme reluctance of the ruling class to part with the power they have. (4) The Middle Class is moderately religious, definitely not communal but purposefully upholds communalism. Most of the members of the new class and even Communist parties are not atheists or agnostics. It is true that the Middle Class had fought against many of the traditional forms of worship and rites which they considered superstitious. This class was responsible for spreading secularism and rationalism. The influence of the clergy, priests, and communal organisations is on the decline. However the vast majority of the members are still religious-minded. Recently, the CPI (M) leader A. K. Gopalan had to admonish his partymen against going to the Sabarimala temple in the traditional way to worship. Organised religion is losing its grip over the people but the faith in God is not towards extinction.

If by communalism we mean the latent or virile hostility among members of one religious community against another it is absent in Kerala. Hindus and Muslims, Hindus and Christians, Christians and Muslims, and various communities and castes within the Hindu religious fold like the Nairs and Ezhavas peacefully co-exist here with exemplary tolerance and co-operation. For that matter communalism is dead. But economic rivalry and competition among the various groups in the Middle Class go about in the guise of communalism. An example may be cited. As the employment opportunities are limited in the State when a few vacancies arise naturally there may be a large number of applicants from various communities. In the fierce competition all methods would be employed in order to further one's chance. In that context interested parties very often drag the name of the community to which they or their rivals belong. Then

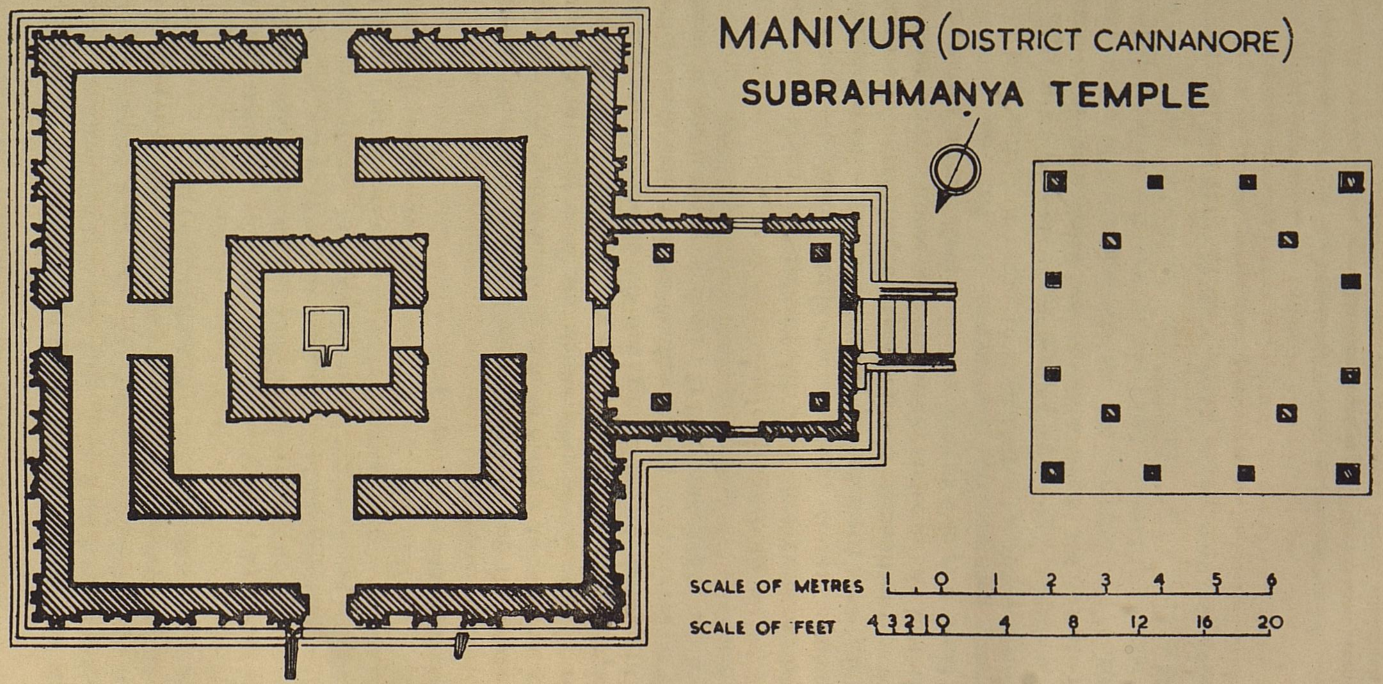
alone he or his people think about the community as such. In fact it is very difficult to find a large number of educated men in the State who want to preserve the identities of their communities. It is a regular complaint of the leaders of all communal organisations in the state that the youngsters have no love for their community. It is a fact. So communalism is used to camouflage economic rivalry.

IX

We conclude with a word about the shape of things to come. The Middle class is said to be in power. But actually it is the Central Middle Class which holds the reins. The lower Middle Class is increasingly becoming restless and wants more share of power. It is just possible that the lower Middle Class would give lead to the lower classes to fight for more power. With the disappearance of that generation of leaders who have some record of service in the freedom struggle, the ability of the Central Middle Class to withstand the assault on its fortress of power is likely to diminish. The public-spirit of all people manifested in the five "loves" namely love of ones motherland, love of people, love of labour, love of service and love of public property is a must for the success of democracy and socialism. The earlier the new generation of politicians realise this truth the better for them and for the state.

MANIYUR (DISTRICT CANNANORE)

SUBRAHMAṆYA TEMPLE



Some Stylistic Collocations in Kṛṣṇagātha

BY

V. R. PRABODHACHANDRAN NAYAR

Kṛṣṇagātha, the narrative song of fifteenth century A. D., setting forth the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa, has often been rightly counted as the first great poetical work or Mahākāvya in the Malayalam language popular all over Kerala. It has also been noted that Kṛṣṇagātha is singularly free from most of those archaisms and unfamiliar constructions commonly met with in earlier classics in Malayalam such as Rāmacaritam and the works of the Niraṇam poets. The latter are seldom read and their language sounds somewhat strange to most Malayāḷis in these days, whereas parts of Kṛṣṇagātha have always been favourite selections for recitation by school children and for choral singing or for regular devotional reading by men and women throughout the length and breadth of Kerala. Taken out of context, many a couplet in Kṛṣṇagātha will easily be mistaken for composition by a modern poet like Vaḷḷattōḷ. This state of affairs has led some researchers to treat Kṛṣṇagātha as a significant text representing the demarcation of modern literary Malayalam from old literary Malayalam (George, pp. 72–'3).

Fifteenth century was predominantly the period of *Campus* which belong to the *Maṇipṛavāḷa* school of poetry. During the same period there were numerous contributions to the *Pāṭṭu* type of poetry too. The language of the *Campus* was highly flavoured with, if not wholly couched in Sanskritic terms, whereas that of the Pāṭṭus was interlarded with innumerable expressions germane to Tamil. The talented author of Kṛṣṇagātha has, however, successfully tried to steer his course between these two extremes, namely the Scylla of predominant Sanskritism and Charybdis of Tamil affiliation. This eschewing of foreign elements to such an ideal extent has contributed greatly to the uniqueness of the language of Kṛṣṇagātha, the study of which based on the principles of modern linguistics has been found to be exceptionally stimulating and rewarding (Nāyar, 1965).

The present study is intended to bring out certain important stylistic features of Kṛṣṇagātha, identifiable from the stand-point of linguistic analysis.

Syntax of Malayalam has been given serious attention only by few grammarians of the language like Gundert and Seshagiri Prabhu. A. R. Rajaraja Varma's treatment of syntax of the language is obviously very sketchy. Even those Malayalam grammarians who have bestowed some attention to the syntactic level of analysis and description have confined their observations, in general, to the language of prose works. The reason for this might have been the misconception that the language of poetry is too flexible to be reduced to regular rules. But a close examination of data collected from any text is bound to bring to light a number of regularities underlying the combinatory possibilities of units in all levels of language including syntax.

Relations obtaining between units established in the level of syntax are of two types: (1) Relations among members of word-classes such as Relative Participle and Noun or Verbal Participle and Verb and (2) Relations between individual lexical items irrespective of the class-membership characterising each of them (Robins, p. 234). It is customary to qualify these two types of relation as colligational and collocational respectively. Thus, constructions such as/vanna amma/ 'the mother who came', /pōya kutira/ 'the horse which went' and /paṟanna pakṣi/ 'the bird which flew' represent just one colligational relation involving a relative participle and a noun in each case, whereas the fact that the lexical item /paṟanna/ 'that which flew' is usually followed by another lexical item /pakṣi/ 'bird' or /kākka/ 'crow' and not by one like /maram/ 'tree' or /vātil/ 'door' is indicative of a collocational relation.

It might be noted that the language of poetry differs from that used in any other situation mainly as regards the collocational possibilities manifested in each instance. Colligational relations manifested in the language of poetry will not be different from those available in prose. Thus, for example, a Noun will be expanded by a Relative Participle both in poetry and prose.

A number of stylistic free variations and phrase equivalences observable in Kṛṣṇagātha can be seen to be instances of special collocations permissible only in poetry. Some of them characterise Kṛṣṇagātha and contribute considerably to its uniqueness among the

literary works composed before, during and after the period of Kṛṣṇagātha. The following paragraphs will provide some instances of collocations (as well as a few colligations) attested in Kṛṣṇagātha and formulate rules governing them.[1]

1. Purposive infinitive (PvI) form or a form with a tense marker (T) of any verb is equivalent to sequence of (1) Verbal Participle$_2$ (VP) of the verb in question, (2) Verbal Participle$_2$ of the verb stem /n̲il-/ 'to stand', (3) the verb stem /iiṭ- ∽ iṭ-/ 'to continue the action referred to' and (4a) purposive infinitive marker or (4b) the corresponding tense marker which may or may not be followed by other verbal suffixes. Here the addition of (2) and (3) is optional.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PvI} \\ \text{T} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{VP} + (\text{VP}_{\underline{\text{n}}\text{il-}}) + (\text{iiṭ-} \backsim \text{iṭ-}) + \begin{bmatrix} \text{PvI} \\ \text{T} \end{bmatrix}$$

Thus, instead of /paṟayān, paṟayum/ and /paṟaññu/ 'to say, will say, said' possible in present day Malayalam, depending upon the requirements of the metre employed, only forms like /paṟaññiṭān, paṟaññun̲in̲n̲īṭān, paṟaññīṭum, paṟaññiṭinān/ and /paṟaññun̲in̲n̲īṭinān/ will be met with in Kṛṣṇagātha.

2. Any relative participle (RP) form is equivalent to sequences of either (1) the RP form and /oru/ or (2) the verbal participle$_2$ form of the verb in question and Relative Participle of the verb /uḷ-/ 'to be', with or without /oru/.

$$\text{RP} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{RP} \\ \text{VP} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{RP} & + & \text{oru} \\ \text{uḷ} & & (\text{oru}) \end{bmatrix}$$

Thus, /āya/ 'became-which' is equivalent to /āyoru, āyuḷḷa/ and /āyuḷḷoru/. See, for example,

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1. The following notational conventions are employed in presenting such rules:
   → 'is rewritten as' Or 'is equivalent to'
   ( ) enclose optionally chosen items.
   [ ] order of items enclosed is to be kept intact on both sides of the arrow.
   { } enclose items among which one can be selected.
   \+ with
   ± with or without
   ∽ free variation

/ugraṅṅaḷ āya ṉimittaṅṅaḷe/ 'the fierce omens'[2] SA 682
/uttamam āyoru bhaktiye/ 'the most virtuous devotion' KR 565
/dhanyayāyuḷḷa yaśōda/ 'the fortunate Yasoda' KR 595
/ambaram āyuḷḷoraṅkaṇam/ 'the court-yard of the sky' KR 501

3. Verbal Participle$_2$ form is equivalent to sequences in which Verbal Participle$_2$ form is followed by either /iṭṭu/ or /koṇṭu/, both of which are completive in function,
e. g.

āyi ——> { āyiṭṭu / āykkoṇṭu } , as in

/tēril āykoṇṭu pāññu/ 'having rushed after having been on the chariot' RG 993
/iruṉṉiṭṭu vilaṅṅināṉ/ 'Sitting, he shown.' R 306

4. Nominal forms ending in sociative case marker /-ōṭu ∽ -oṭu/ may optionally be expanded by /um/ and /kūṭi/ 'having joined', or they may be equivalent to sequences of /um/ and /āy/ or to /-il/. /kūṭi/ and /āy/ being Verbal Participle$_2$ forms, are further exapandable in accordance with the previous rule. It is /iṭṭu/ rather than /kaṇṭu/ which is employed in such expansions.

Sc oṭu ——> { [ōṭ (um) / um] [kūṭi / āy] iṭṭu ; il }

e. g.
/ādaravōṭu mutiṟṉṉu/ 'Began with respect.' KR 174
/cēṭimārōṭum kūṭi vaṉṉu/ 'having come after mingling with female servants' R 568
/bhāvavum āy vaṉṉatu/ '(his) coming with the appearance' SA 734

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2. The following abbreviations are used to refer to various cantos in Kṛṣṇagātha :

G	Gōpikāduḥkham	RG	Rugmiṇīsvayamvaram
GV	Griṣmavaṟṇṇanam	RS	Rājasūyam
K	Kucēlagati	SA	Svarggārōhaṇam
KM	Kāḷiyamarddanam	U	Ulūkhalabaṉdhanam
KR	Kṛṣṇōlpatti	VG	Vēṇugānam
PU	Pūtanāmōkṣam	SK	Saubhadrikakatha
R	Rāsakrīḍa		

Figures given after such abbreviations indicate line numbers. All such references are to the Maṅgalōdayam edition of Kṛṣṇagātha (1956).

/ādaravil coṉṉān/ 'He said with respect' SK 10
/sēnayum āyiṭṭu vaṉṉār/ 'They came with the army' RG 579

5. As in the case of present day Malayalam, the Ablative case phrase consists of a Locative case form and the Verbal Participle[2] form of the verb stem /ṉil-/ 'to remain'.

e. g.
/tēril ṉiṉṉu iṟaṅṅi/ 'having descended from the chariot' A 75
/vāy īṉṉu coriññu/ 'having let go from the mouth' KM 155
/īṉṉu/, occurring in the second utterance, is the result of telescoping of the Locative case marker /-il/ and the Verbal Particlple$_2$form from /ṉil-/.

6. Dative case forms are equivalent to sequences of Dative case forms and the Verbal Participle$_2$ form /āy (i) / from the verb stem /ā (k/v)-/ 'to be'. /āy (i) /, in its turn, may be expanded by /iṭṭu/ or /koṇṭu/ (See rule 3). Similarly, Purposive Infinitive (PvI) forms are also equivalent to sequences of Purposive Infinitive forms and /āy (i)/ .

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Dc} \\ \text{PvI} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{Dc} \\ \text{PvI} \end{bmatrix} + \text{āy (i)}$$

e. g.
/paitalkk āy iṭṭu ṉalkināḷ/ 'She gave to the child.' U 374
/colluvān āy kkoṇṭu vaṉṉu/ 'Came to say.' R 691

7. Interrogative form of a finite verb is equivalent to a sequence of /uṇṭu/ 'is', Interrogative /ō/ and the Verbal Participle$_2$ form of the verb.

Vb + Int$_ō$ —→ uṇṭu + + VP

e. g.
/kaṇṭō ? —→ uṇṭō kaṇṭu ?/ 'Did (you) see?' G 550

8. If at least one constituent of a simple sentence is identical with one constituent of another simple sentence, then both these sentences can be combined together by substituting the identical constituent in one of these by a sequence of the hooker /um/ and the expression /avvaṇṇamē/. In the following rewrite rule x1 and x2 = non-identical constituents of simple sentences 1 and 2 respectively,

Y = Identical constituents of both the simple sentences 1 and 2, and

H = Hooker.

x1 + Y + x2 + Y ⟶ x1 + Y + x 2 + H + avvaṇṇamē

e. g.

/acchane nōkki kēḷum + ammāvan tanne nōkki kēḷum ⟶ acchane nōkki kēlum; ammāvan tanneyum avvaṇṇamē/ 'Seeing the father, (she) will weep; similarly seeing the uncle too. KR 210

/indrane kāṇāyi + indrāṇi tanne kāṇāyi ⟶ indarne kāṇāyi; indrāṇi tanneyum avvaṇṇamē/ 'It became possible to see Indra; and similarly Iṅdrāṇi too.' U 650

9. The way in which expressions like /vaṇṇam, pōle, kaṇakke, avvaṇṇamē, enna kaṇakke, enna kaṇakkine/ and /enna pōle/ are employed to connect the predicates of two sentences in Kṛṣṇagātha is specified in this rule:

$$P_1 + P_2 \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} RP \\ P_1 \end{bmatrix} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vaṇṇam} \\ \text{pōle} \\ \text{kaṇakke} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{avvaṇṇamē} \\ \text{enna} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kaṇakk} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ine} \\ \text{e} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{pōle} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] + P_2$$

When /vaṇṇam, pōle/ and /kaṇakke/ are employed, the finite verb predicate (P_1) of the first sentence is substituted by the corresponding relative participle (RP).

e. g.

/vannu + pūkinār ⟶ vanna vaṇṇam pūkinār/ 'They entered just like they came'. U 606

/parannu + cuvannu ⟶ paranna pōle cuvannu/ '(Became) reddened as though spread.' K 136

/pūkum + pukkāḷ ⟶ pūkumpōle pukkāḷ/ 'She entered like (the snake) entering' PU 186

/viriññu camaññu + cuvannu camaññu ⟶ viriñña camañña kaṇakke cuvannu camaññu/

'Became (reddened as though opened'). VG 47

In other cases the predicate of the first sentence is retained as such: e. g.

/ēṟṟinān + tuṭaṅṅinān/ → ēṟṟinān; avvaṇṇamē tutaṅṅinān/
'He made to rise; in the same manner started also.' RS 576

/moḻi + kēlkkākunnu/ → moḻi enna kaṇakkine kēlkkākunnu/
'It is possible to hear like the speech.' G 835

/mānasam + camaññitu → mānasam enna kaṇakke camaññitu/
'Became like the buds'. VG 293

/moṭṭukaḷ + aṅkuriccu → moṭṭukaḷ enna pōle aṅkuriccu/
'Sprouted like the buds.' U 164

In combining two sentences by means of /enna pōle/, the constituent of the first sentence which precedes this expreession may be a Verbal Participle, a Phrasal Verbal Participle, a Case form or a Purposive Infinitive form.

e. g.

/cinticciṭṭu enna pōle kaṟuttutu/ 'Blackened as though (it) thought' KR 336

/tūśi taṟaykkumpōḷ enna pōle nōkki.../
'having looked as though when a needle is driven in' V 462

/ākayāl enna pōle kuṭiccu ../
'having drunk as though (it is) due to becoming' PU 222

/colluvān enna pōle naṭannu.../ GV 26
'having walked as though (it is) to say'

In addition to this, /enna pōle/ may follow a quotation also:

/ñān ini nīṅṅēṇam enna pōle āram pōy dūrattāyi/
' "hereafter I should move off", (thinking so,) the string of pearls went and remained away.' KR 388

10. /pōle/ is also employed to connect two sentences having identical constituents as predicates. In connecting such sentences, Objective case marker is optionally added to the noun functioning as the subject of the second sentence.

x1 + Y + x2 + Y → x1 + x2 ± Oc + pōle + Y

/mānasam āyi + pāṟa āyi → mānasam pāṟa(ye) pōle āyi
'The mind became like a rock.' KR 28

The rules given above are illustrative only. In many cases they are not exhaustive. This is a period during which large, high

speed, electronic computers are being pressed into the service of stylistic analysis. It will be interesting to see if it is possible to quantify with the help of computational techniques the influence of the language of a text like Kṛṣṇagātha on the evolution of the Malayalam language, with particular reference to the styles attested in the literary contributions of later periods. Impressionistically it might be observed that although a few collocations are characteristic of Kṛṣṇagātha, a number of special usages and idioms occurring in this text are available in other poetical and prose works also. These are to be viewed as marks of influence of Kṛṣṇagātha on the language of other works.

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Vaipicotta and Ambalakkadu— Two Landmarks of Early Printing in Kerala

BY

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

There are no two opinions about the fact that the Spanish Brother John Gonsalvez was the father of printing in India. It was he who cut 'Malabar' types at the Collegium Inchoatum of Santa Cruz at Vaipicotta in 1577 for printing a catechism. Gonsalvez is rightly called the Indian Gutenberg and Vaipicotta the counterpart of Mainz.

The indebtedness of Brother Gonsalvez to Brother John de Bustamante is generally overlooked. The modern art of printing in India originated in Goa and the Spanish coadjutor Brother John de Bustamante was the first printer. The first material printed by him on the Indian soil was *Concluseos* or Theses of Philosophy. The printing of St. Francis Xavier's *Doctrina Christao* in 1557 was an epoch-making event in the history of India which heralded a new age in the dissemination of knowledge.

Though printing by movable types was not new to India, the honour of being called the first printer of modern India goes to Brother John (Juan) de Bustamante. The history of printing in India, as a matter of fact, dates back to the days of the Indus Valley Civilisation. The earliest printed objects are the seals of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, the deciphering of which has taxed the ingenuity of scholars in India and abroad. The story of printing in the Indus Valley is yet to be written, but it is doubtful whether the seals were printed with the help of mechanical devices. The seals which have been unearthed from various sites of this prehistoric culture are dissimilar and no two seals have got uniform writing.

Mechanical devices were believed to have been employed at the ancient University of Nalanda for making several copies of books quickly. The earliest printed extant document, the *Diamond Sutra* of the Japanese empress Shotukr dated 770 A. D. is in an

Indian language in Chinese characters and is believed to have been carried out in Japan.[1]

A block print in the Brahmi script dating back to 770 A. D. with Sanskrit characters found in the Tunhuang caves has been reproduced by Aurel Stein, the great orientalist, in one of his books.[2] The Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia were the repositories of many a printed Sanskrit *grantha.* The Prussian expedition of 1902-07 discovered a 10-leafed 2' long 6 "wide *pothi*," the most beautiful specimen of printing" executed in the 13th century in one of these monasteries. The Chinese edition of the *Tripitaka* in 5,048 volumes printed during 972-983 A. D. was a work for which Indian Buddhist monks contributed their skill.[3] These and other printed objects have no doubt an academic and historic value, but the credit for its commercial exploitation for modern India goes to John Bustamante.

John Bustamante-First printer

The 6th of September 1556 was a red letter day for India when Spanish Brother John Bustamante reached Goa. He was ordained a priest at Goa in 1564 after completing his studies. In fact, he was originally destined for Ethiopia and the Patriarch of Ethiopia, John Nunes, who accompanied the lay brother, persuaded him to work in India. Very little biographical data are available about this "Typographer of Valencia" except that he was born at Valenc'a of the Cid in 1530 and was admitted to the Society of Jesus in 1555. His death in Goa on August 25, 1588 was a great loss to printing in India.[4]

The first printing press of India was situated at the College of Saint Paul (Jesuit seminary) in Goa and it is interesting to note that the press was commissioned with the assistance of John of Emden, John Gonsalvez and John's Indian assistants, who were trained in the art of printing in Portugal.[5] The press was meant for supplying religious literature for the land of the legendary Prester John (of Ethiopia).

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1. Letter of T. P. Saxena, Aligarh, in the *Statesman*, (Calcutta) dated 8. 8. 1964
2. Serinda.
3. Saxena's letter.
4. Primrose; Rodeles, Ferroli I, 469-472, 472; *Carey Exhibition of Early Printing and Fine Printing* at the National Library, Calcutta, 1955 — "A brief note on early Printing in India"; Barns Margaritha; C. B. Cockaine's letter in the *Statesman* dated 13. 7. 1964 and S. B. Joshi's letter in the *Statesman* dated 27. 7. 1964.
5. Carey Exhibition.

From a letter of the Patriarch of Ethiopia, John Nunes, written from Goa to Fr. Luis Gonsales de Camera on the 6th of November, 1556 we find that the philosophers held a public act and the *Concluseos "tambien otras cosas"* was printed by Brother John.[6]

Though several books were printed by John in his printing press at Goa, the author of the first broadsheet, *Concluseos* or Theses of Philosophy was Antonio de Quadros, who was Professor of Philosophy at the St. Paul's from 1556 to 1559.[7] It is doubtful whether a copy of this earliest printed broadsheet is preserved anywhere. St. Francis Xavier's *Doctrina Christao* or catechism which he had composed in 1547 was printed by John in 1557. No copy of this book has also survived.[8]

The third book printed by John was the *Tractado* (1560) written by Fr. Goncalo Rodrigues. The earliest book printed at Goa available in the world today is the *Compendo Spiritual da vida Christaa* (Spiritual Compendium of the Christian Life). A copy of this earliest available printed book having nearly 500 pages is preserved at the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library. The microfilming of this book is made impossible as it is in its original binding. The printer of this book was John (Jao) Quinquencio and John of Emden, assistants of John Bustamante. The author of this publication was the first Archbishop of Goa, Dom Gasper de Leao Pereira and the book was issued to the public on the 2nd of July 1581. One of the most useful books published from Goa is Garcia de Orta's *Coloquios dos Simples Edrogas* printed in April, 1565.[9]

John Bustamante is not called the father of printing in India because the types of his press were brought fron Portugal. He was a zealous missionary and his great enthusiasm for printing religious books knew no bounds. He printed in 1560 a treatise in Portuguese written by Gonsalo Rodrigues which showed the primacy of the Roman church over the Abyssinian schismatics. However, the efforts of the priests to get the Ethiopian types from Rome for use in the land of Prester John did not succeed till a later date.[10]

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6. Ferroli.
7. Primrose.
8. Primrose.
9. Para based on Primrose: *History of Goa by Fonesica*, 58; Carey Exhibition S. B. Joshi's letter in the *Statesman* dated 27. 7. 64
C. B. Cockaine's letter in the *Statesman* dated 13. 7. 64.
10. Ferroli I, 472.

The printing activities of the Jesuits of Goa with imported Latin types did not bring any benefit to the natives as Latin alphabet proved unintelligible to them. The aim of converting the Hindu population was not achieved with printing books in Latin. It is in this context that the cutting of "Malabar" types by John Gonsalvez, an assistant of Brother John Bustamante in 1577 must be viewed. That is why Gonsalvez is called the Father of Printing in India.

Vaipicotta Press-Its History

Vaipicotta, where the first language printing press with vernacular types was established, was situated in the compound of the Holy Cross Church of Cēnnamaṅgalam, though the villagers and for that matter the native priest of the church, are in blissful ignorance of ts existence.[11] The State Transport of Kerala takes an inquisitive visitor from Alwaye to Cēnnamaṅgalam, the home of the Pāliath Accans, the hereditary Prime Ministers of the Rajahs of Cochin. Cēnnamaṅgalam is two miles north of North Paravūr. The church of Holy Cross is situated at Kiḻakkumpuram, two miles east of the bus stand. Two pillars of the seminary of Vaipicotta are still in existence, though overgrown with climbers. The verdant branches of a jack tree and other perennial trees screen these last remains of the first language printing press of India. No outrage is committed on this printing heritage of India as a blue enamelled notice warns the trespassers: "Protected monument: Trespassers will be prosecuted". A worn-out teak-wood plank, set up 6 feet above ground, proclaims to the world: "The Vaipicotta seminary or the College of Christ built by the Portuguese in the 16th century.".[12]

The Vaipicotta seminary that once overlooked the beautiful lagoon formed by the Periyār before her fall into the Arabian sea at Cranganore, was established by the Jesuit missionaries on a piece of land granted by the now extinct Villārvaṭṭam royal family.[13] From the records of the Pāliyath Accans, who succeeded the Villārvaṭṭam Rāja, it is gathered that the lands adjoining the Holy Cross Church formed the original endowment to the seminary. A piece of garden

11. K. P. Padmanabha Menon confuses, Vaipicotta with Vaipinkara—*History of Kerala Vol. I*, 1924.
12. The author stayed at Cēnnamaṅgalam during the months of August and September in 1968 and contacted the church authorities and elders of the village.
13. Personal communication.

land with a number of coconut palms on it adjacent to the remains of the seminary was shown to this writer as the nucleus of the gift of the Villārvaṭṭam Rāja from which the expenses of the church have been met since its inception.

The Jesuit house of Vaipicotta was founded in 1577 by Antonio Guedes de Moraes. His initial contribution to its expenses amounted to 35,000 pardaos. He settled an annuity of 500 pardaos. He also bought properties which yielded an annual income of 300 pardaos. His death on the 15th of July 1607 was mourned for by the members of the seminary[15]. The proposal to establish this house was originally mooted to Pope Gregory XIII by Archbishop Mar Abraham of Angamali. From his letter dated the 3rd of January of the same year addressed to the Holy See we learn that "the faith and religion of the Jesuits will be to me of great help to recall to this province to the true path, to the obedience and customs of the Holy Roman Church and to maintain it in the same", and "to attain this object I have granted a written faculty to the Fathers of the Society to stay and work in my Diocese according to their Institute".[16] The great Visitor of the East, Fr. Allessandro Valignani, paid a visit to Mar Abraham to get permission for Jesuit enterprise in his Diocese.[17] A "poor" church was erected in honour of the true cross. Fr. Bernardino Ferrario, probably an Italian, and Pedro Luis[18], the first Brahmin to enter the Society who helped Father Henriques to translate St. Xavier's *Doctrina Christao*, were the first to reside at Vaipicotta. The native Jesuit priest played an important part in the church affairs of Kerala. He was present at the Provincial Synod convoked at the Cathedral of Angamali in 1583 and celebrated Low Mass in Latin.

A new residence was added to Vaipicotta which soon developed into a seminary. The masonry walls of the old church are still in

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14. The grant of land was for keeping a lighted lamp througout day and night at the altar of the church. Information supplied by the aged sexton of the Holy Cross Church.
15. Ferroli, I. 166, 399, quoting a letter written by Fr. Laerzius to Fr. General Acquaviva in 1604
16. Rodeles states that the seminary was established by Fr. George de Castro.
17. Ferroli I 164 quoting the letter dated 3rd January 1578 from the College of Jesus in Cochin.
18. Ferroli 1 166
Schurhammer states that ero (also spelt Pedro) Luis was the first Brahmin convert.

good condition. The church built by Castro was probably destroyed by Tipu Sultan, but the same was restored to its present condition. A number of stones with inscriptions in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of Malayalam are now displayed on a small wall built just right to the entrance for the benefit of research workers. A few more inscriptions are lying in the compound of the church. These inscriptions mostly account the munificence of the donees.

The seminary at Vaipicotta had the most eminent theologians of those days. The best native priests were trained here for which a general confession of all their past sins was the admission test. Father Francis Roz, who was at first adviser of Bishop Mar Abraham and later on his successor at Cranganore was the first Rector of the seminary. He introduced certain Syrian elements into the seminary training in 1584 and added to the course of Theology a course of Syro Chaldaic, of which he himself was the Professor.[20] Father Roz, though a Spaniard, was a master of Malayalam, Tamil, Latin, Portuguese and Chaldaic. He used to celebrate the Holy Mass in Syriac. He seldom cared to the objections of the ecclesiastics to both the teaching of Syro-Chaldaic and the celebration of the Mass in the Syriac rite. The Pope, to whom a representation for the abolition of the Syro-Chaldaic was made, supported Father Roz saying that the "variety of rites is one of the ornaments of the church, who is like a queen clad in varied garments".

The report of Cardinal Gesualdo presented to the Holy See in 1583 says: "There is a seminary staffed by the Fathers of the Society in which live 50 or 60 students belonging to the descendants of those who were converted to the true faith by the Apostle St. Thomas. They are taught humanities, Latin, and Chaldaic, the case of Conscience, the rudiments of the Catholic Faith and of the Liturgy. From the same seminary many have already come forth fairly well instructed; and some have been raised to the priesthood".[21]

Records are scanty to reconstruct the history of Vaipicotta seminary. There were five fathers and four lay-brothers in 1602 and the residence of Purakkad (45 miles south of the port of Cochin) and

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19. Ferroli I, 170
20. Ferroli I, 167, Anathil 18-19.
    Ferroli I 170
21. Ferroli I 169

Ankamali were attached to it.[22] Father Roz, who became the first Latin Archbishop of Cranganore, used to pay frequent visits to the seminary. In January 1604 he stopped at Vaipicotta on his way back from Cochin where he had been called by the Maharajah to transact certain business. He concluded a peace treaty between the Mṅṅāṭṭaccan, the hereditary Prime Minister of the Zamorins, and the king of Aṅkamāli.[23] The number of pupils at the seminary in 1626 was 20. Father Francis Fernandez[24] seems to have been the Rector of the seminary from 1611 to 1618.[25] The death of the two famous Rectors of the seminary, Archbishop Francis Roz on the 16th of February 1624 (whose remains interred at the St. Ferone Church or Kōṭṭaikkāvu Paḷḷi as it is called in popular parlance at North Paravūr)[26] and Fr. Fernandez on 31st January 1641 (whose burial took place at Vaipicotta[27] -but no memorial exists today) left the college without able guidance and the seminary was destroyed by Syrian Christians following the Coonen Cross revolt.[28] The statement that the seminary was converted into a Leper Asylum after the Dutch conquest of Cochin in 1663 seems to be not correct as the Asylum was in fact located at Pallipport, about six miles further downstream.[29]

The life of the pupils of the Vaipicotta seminary is better told in a letter[30] written to the General of the Society in 1644. In this seminary are received the sons of the Christians of St. Thomas. They learn there the Syriac language which is taught to them by the Rector of the seminary himself with a view to their being ultimately ordained priests, for mass is said in the Syriac. The formation of these seminarists who are called Chamases is a very laborious one. The semi-

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22. Ferroli I 357
23. Ferroli I 296 quoting the letter of John Mary Campori
24. Ferroli I, 394
25. Ferroli I 410
26. Ferroli I 471
    Dr. P. J. Thomas- *History of the Literature of Kerala Christions (in Malayalam)* 76
    Personally verified in September 1968. North Paravūr is only three miles from Cēnnamaṅgalam; Chendamargalam-Chanot of Dutch and Portuguese records) by the main road and one and a half miles as the crow flies.
27. Ferroli I 394
28. Anathil 25; Ferroli II, 33, 296
29. Personal enquiry and local tradition
30. Anathil 19 quoting Andrew Lopez- *A Short Account of the Missions under the Charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Malabar Province in the East Indies*- Trichinopoly, 7

narists learn not only Syriac but also Holy Scripture in the same language. Every Saturday they receive conferences on the subjects of Faith, the administration and reception of the sacraments, on devotion to our Lady and the saints, generally concluded by an exhortation. The seminarists who are not yet in Holy Orders recite every morning Christian doctrine while those in Orders go at 5 A. M. to say Matins in the Church and in the evening Vespers and compline. At night, before retiring to sleep, they say altogether, the litanies of our Lady, or of the Most Blessed Sacraments are received in a small chapel, and there they make their examen of conscience and then retire for the night''. The students at the seminary wore a white garment in the shape of a soutane. The priests dressed in black, white or sky-blue. The formation of the spiritual life of the young Levites at Vaipicotta was in the best traditions of the Jesuit Society.

Though the exact number of people who were baptised during the existence of the seminary is not known, it is on the record that at least 24 received baptism in 1607.[31] Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa from 1595 to 1609, who is wellknown in India chiefly in connection with the Synod of Diamper (1599) visited Vaipicotta in February 1599 and the reception accorded to him by the Jesuits and their scholars was unparalled in the history of the seminary. His brilliant sermon on the text to prove that the former bishops of Serra (Kerala) were nothing better than thieves and robbers as they were not consecrated by the Pope made a great impact on his audience.[32] He said the mass attended by all the members of the seminary and the parish people.

The fathers of Vaipicotta did not lack in exploratory spirit. A party consisting of a Cassanar and a Chamas (i. e., a priest and a deacon) proceeded to Ootacamaund in 1602 in order to discover and open the way to the habitat of the Todas who were mistaken as degnerated Christians of St. Thomas. The party after travelling more than fifty miles from Calicut reached the summit of the Blue Mountains. Here they came upon a race which appeared, in accordance with the rumour, to be of those who were driven from the territory of St. Thomas by the many wars in former times and scatter-

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31 Ferroli I 408

32. Lobbey, Joseph Albert- *The Church & Churches in Southern India*, London, 1870

ed through these parts ".[33] The report of this team led the Bishop of Aṉkamāli to send Father Fenicio whose expedition to the Todas is well-known.

Fathers Francis Roz, De Castro, Antony Toscano and Brother Giovanni Maria Campori worked round the clock for making preparations at Diamper (Udaimperur, a North Travancore town, not very far off from Vaipicotta) for the convocation of the Synod on 20th June 1599. Father Roz and Toscāno, who knew Malayalam well, acted as the interpreters, since the Archbishop Menezes did not know that language. The 17th decree of the Synod introduced the practice that no priest shall be allowed to preach without passing an examination, to be conducted by the Fathers of Vaipicotta. Fruther, it arranged for the translation of the Catechism into Malayalam.

No better testimony is needed for the Vaipicotta Fathers than the 40th decree of the Synod of Diamper which reads: "The Synod while it thanks in the Lord the Religious of the Society of the college of Vaipicotta and of the other Residence of this Diocese for the splendid work which they have done in instructing this people, gives to the same Religious, both of the College of Vaipicotta and of the larger Residences, and to their guests, the facility to preach, to explain the Catechism, to hear confessions add to solemly administer the other sacraments in any chruch. No other leave, besides this, will be required. Further it orders the Cassanars, the Vicars and all the people to receive them, i. e., the Fathers, kindly and gladly and to show them their gratitude for the work they have done and for the expenses they have undergone in constantly travelling these mountains and inaccesible places, with the only object of procuring the salvation of their souls."[34]

The circumstance leading to the undertaking of printing by the Jesuits is interesting. The ancient Christians of St. Thomas in Kerala were a degenerate lot. A Franciscan friar, Father Vicente de Lagos, "a great servant of God" was sent to Malabar by Jon Joao de Albuquerpue, Bishop of Goa, in 1545. It was he who founded the College at Cranganore in 1546 despairing of making much progress

33. Ferroli I 473
Gouva, A- *Historie Orientale*, 462-64
Rivers, W.H.R -*The Todas* London, 1906, Appendix I
34. Ferroli I, 202
" Thaliath Jonas- *The Synod of Diamper*

among the older people, who were in general firmly attached to their ancient doctrines and practices and to purge the Nestorian heresy for propagating Romanism. Frey Vicente's intention was to educate the native Christian youths by Roman priests. The seminary had a splendid library and "structure", Baldaeus tells us, "was in no way inferior to many in Europe. Within the fortress walls a magnificent Cathedral reared its stately head, and around it were the beautiful tombs of the Jesuit Archbishops". The Franciscan friar got help from Father George, a native priest, who had returned from Portugal for establishing the seminary. St. Francis Xavier found about 100 students, sons of those that descended from the Christians whom St. Thomas converted.[35]

Frey Vicente did not know Syriac and the Syrian students were given exclusively Latinised training. The instruction in Latin theology and Latin liturgy without the slightest regard for the Syrian rites led to discontent and later on Mar Joseph, who succeeded Mar Jacob, as the Bishop of Serra, refused their ordination. The first attempt ever made among the St. Thomas Christians to give their clergy a systematic training was not only a failure, but also caused tension by the Latinising policy of the seminary. The Jesuits did not take over the seminary, but instead founded a residence at Vaipicotta in 1577, as has been mentioned earlier, and they developed it into a seminary for training the Syrian clergy. Their first attempt was characterised by a notable realism in approach to the thorny problem of training Syrians in Latin forms. A special feature of the seminary was the blending of Latin training and Syrian rites so that the young Malayalee who entered the seminary found a new world, the world of classics. The training was oriented towards future pastoral work of the seminarians and was not confined to a thorough theoretical or speculative training. It is in the context that the attempts of the Jesuits at vernacular printing is to be viewed and no other place, except Vaipicotta, was better suited to the establishment of a printing press which could serve the Fishery Coast and the coastal areas by an overland route and an excellent system of water communication.

35. Anathil- 14-18
Ferroli I 20, 151
Menon, K. P. P., I, 312

Gonsalvez - First Printer

The celebrated printer, Gonsalvez, seems to have joined Fathers Ferrario and Luis immediately after the establishment of the residence at Vaipicotta. The Pope granted a jubilee in 1578 to the new missionary enterprise and it is on record that more than 1,000 persons received Holy communion on the occasion at Vaipicotta. The credit for raising a more solid chruch, replacing the old "poor" church in 1581, goes to Father George de Castro who collected the necessary funds by gathering donations from among the Portuguese and native potentates. The Rajah of Cochin, through his resident Prime Minister, Pāliyath Accan whose seat of Government and residence was located at Oēnnamaṉgalam, made a generous donation. He settled an annuity of Rs 300/– in favour of the seminary to maintain 30 students, besides "some moneys" for the maintenance of two fathers.

Doctrina Christao and *Rudiments of the Catholic faith* were the first two books printed at Vaipicotta Gonsalvez. Sousa has stated that the *Doctrina Christao* was the "first printed book that India saw on her soil, and by its novelty it helped a little to gain the goodwill of the natives."[37]

The Vaipicotta fathers were asked to translate into Chaldaic the Missal and Roman Breviary by the Third Council of Goa held on 9th June 1585. The seventh decree of this Council further decreed that the *Catechism*, a *Summary of Moral Theology for Confessions* and prayer books be translated into Malayalam.[38] It was due to the organisational ability of the Fathers of Vaipicotta that the synod of Diamper made its great impact. They were the interpreters at the Synod, as we have already seen.

Gonsalvez according to Francesco Sacchini, cut the 'Malabar' types in 1577 by which was printed a catechism, not less for the wonder than for the use of the Indians. Souza also agrees that the task of printing a catechism in the Malabar tongue was undertaken soon after the founding of the Jesuit Residence at Vaipicotta in 1577 and the Spanish Lay-Brother John Gonsalvez made the types with

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36. Ferroli, I 166-67, p 170
37. Ferroli I, 469-470, quoting Sousa pp 66-67
    Mackenzie Barns Margaritha
    Rodeles
38. Ferroli I 171-172

which the book was printed. Mackenzie, on the strength of a note supplied by Bishop Medlycott, tells us that a book entitled the "Rudiments of the Catholic Faith" was also printed by Gonsalvez. This view is shared by Rev. T. Whitehouse, who was the minister of the Cochin church for a long time.[39]

There are only two copies of *Doctrina Christao*[40] available today in the world, one printed at Quilon and the other at Cochin. There is no doubt that the authorities refer to these works as Catechisms, which in fact they are, as no Catechism as such has come down to us. The author of these two editions of *Doctrina Christao* is none more than the famous pioneer Tamil grammarian, Henriques. The circumstantial evidence points to the fact that the printer of these earliest books was Gonsalvez.

The first Indian language printer, Gonsalvez, was born in 1525 and entered the Society of Jesuits in 1555 in Lisbon. The Jesuit records show that he took the simple vows in Goa in 1557 and was there till 1575. We are told that he was a man of feeble health, but of sound judgement and a rare skill in his office of ironsmith and clock-maker. His death in 1580 was an irreparable loss to printing in India.[41]. The author of the *Orienta Conouistado* has held that

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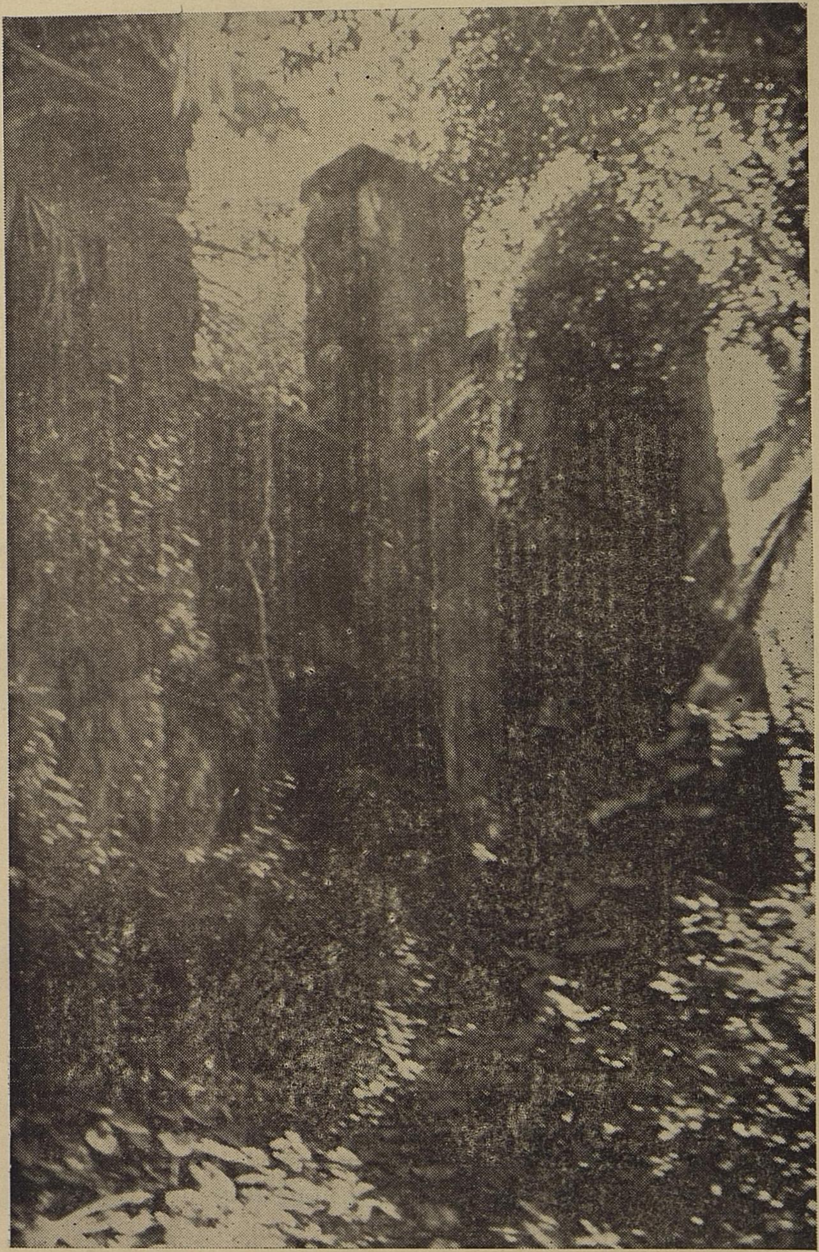
39. Schurhammer
Sacchini- *Historia Societas Jesu*, Pars IV, 15, n. 181 Rome 1650 Sousa, Francesco 'de *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Chrsto Pelas Padres da da companhia -de Jusus de provincia de Goa* (Lisobon, 1710) Vol II. pp 66-67, 135,
Mackenzie
Ferroli I 467 470
Whitehouse

40. Schurhammer
Sousa (II, 66-67) says that Gonsalvez printed the Catechism at Vaipicotta
Ferroli I 469
Sousa II, 135
Ms Goa 24, fol. 88 in the Archivum Romanum of the Society of Jesus

41. Rodeles says:
This clever artist (Gonsalvez) contrived the matrices of the "Malabar" types, cast the type and in a short time the college issued a host of Catechism which filled thousands of neophytes with admiration and joy. This catechism was followed by other publications printed at Goa (?) also in "Malavar". These books by the fact that the language was common to large tracts of the country became powerful auxiliaries in spreading the knowledge of the religion. It had been Brother Juan Gonsalvez' intention to make 'Kanarese' (Konkani) types, but in the end, he gave up, partly on account of the uncouth shape of the letters and the difficulty of settling the pronunciation, and partly because the country over which the language was used was very small.



The remains of the Vaipicotta seminary at Chennamangalam where the first language printing took place in Kerala was founded in 1577 by Father Antonio Guedes de Moraes. Two pillars of the old, deserted, Seminary are in excellent preservation.

Holy Cross Church at Chennamangalam in the compound of which the Vaipicotta Seminary was situated. The present church is not very old. A number of inscriptions in Vattezhuthu characters are preserved at the church.

Gonsalvez died at the college of St. Paul in Goa, which it is quite unlikely. However, no memorial stone marks the last resting place of this pioneer printer in the cemetry of the Holy Cross Church.

The copy of the *Doctrina Christao* preserved in the Library of the University of Sorbonne, France, in dialogue form, contains four unnumbered leaves and 112 numbered pages. This is a translation of Father Marcos Jorge's work by Father Henriques and was printed "in Cochin" in 1579. This is believed to be a reprint of the first edition and the book must evidently have been printed at Vaipicotta as no printing press was ever situated at Cochin.[43] As the new residence at Vaipicotta was not independent from the College of the Mother of God in the city of Cochin, the imprint line is not difficult to understand. Similarly, the shorter *Doctrina Christao* printed at Quilon must also have been done at Vaipicotta as no press was attached to the 'College of Travancore' situated at Quilon. The circumstantial evidence tends to confirm this view.

Fr. Christavao Luis, writing from Puneaikāyal on 24th December 1576 to the General of the Society in Rome confirms that Fr. Henriques and his native assistant Pero Luis (who was the first native priest to take up his residence at Vaipicotta, as we have already stated earlier) had gone to "see to the printing".[44] Henriques writing from Tuticorin in 1577 tells us that the Malabar Catechism was being printed. Fr. Gomes Vaz in his annual letter written from Goa on 20th October 1578 has stated that the Malabar printing press for the Fishery Coast had been perfected. The presence of Pero Luis at

42. Schurhammer

43. *Carey Exhibition* states the original edition of the DOCTRINA CHRISTAO in 'Malabar-Tamul' is available in the Bibliotheque Nationale and a photo copy of its title page has been reproduced in the *Memoer of the MadrasLibrary Association* (1941) to illustrate Sivaraman's article on the evolution of early printing and title page faces page 64 of that volume. The title is translated as CHRISTIYA VANAKKAM. It must however be stated that the copy at Paris is a 1579 reprint of the 1577 volume, writes the compiler of the brochure. (This writer could not get a copy of the article of K. M. Sivaraman' Evolution of the Preliminary pages of a printed book' in *Memoirs of the Madras Library Association*, 1941, as the National Library. Calcutta, has not got a copy of it.)

44. Schurhammer

Vaipicotta leaves no doubt that the two editions of the *Doctrina Christao* were printed at Vaipicotta.[45]

A 16–paged conventional octavo format 14 x 10 cm copy of *Doctrina Christao* on 'lingua Malabar Tamul' was acquired by Harvard College Library in 1951 from William H. Robbinson Ltd. of London and through the generosity of Mr. Curt H. Keisinger. The author of this translation work is also Father Henriques and his assistant Fr. Manael de Sao Pedro. The book was printed at Quilon in 1578. According to George Schurhammer and Cottrell, this little work known only from the one extant copy is "the earliest example of printing in the character of one of the languages of India and at the same the earliest example of printing in a native language executed in India". The book was issued on 20th October 1578 with the approval of Fr. Henrique de Tavorae Brito, O. P., Bishop of Quilon, within whose see the Collegium Inchoatum or the College of the Saviour was situated, the Inquisitor for India, Dr. Bertolomeu de Fonesica and the Superior or Provincial of the Order stationed at Goa, Fr. Rui Vincente.

"The Rudiments of Catholic Faith" with its title page in Latin, reading "Principes on elemens de la Religionchtne en langue de Malabar a Cochin 1579" is also available at Sorbonne. The Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris is said to have a copy of the original edition of the *Doctrira Christao* printed in 1577.

The first Tamil grammar *Arte de Lingua Malavar* was printed at Vaipicotta. The author of this earliest work of its kind was Fr. Henriques,[46] who is familiar to us. Fr. Henriques (1520-1600) wrote a number of religious books in the *lingua malavar* as he was an accomplished linguist.[47] He was the first Jesuit to learn Tamil seriously. "It is necessary", he wrote in 1551, "to understand their

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45. Rodeles states

A small book on Christian Doctrine composed in Portuguese by Fr. Marcos Jorge and translated into 'Malabar' by Fr. Henry Henriques was printed in Cochin in the College of the Mother of God on November 14, 1579. Fr. Manoel Martins had it printed it in Tamil, *but we do not know where* (Italics added)

46. Fr. Henriques was born at Villa-Viciosa about 1520 and died at Punnaikāyal February 6, 1600 (Rodeles).

47. John Correia-Afonoso—58.

language. Four of us who are at present here (on the Fishery Coast), namely Father Paul, Brother Balthasar, Brother Ambrose, and I, strive, to learn to read and write *malavar* (Tamil) which is indeed a laborious task. But the Lord God has given us much assistance, especially in that a *malavar* grammar is ready which the Brothers study. With it one learns within a short time to speak correctly putting things in their correct place, such as the conjugations and declensions, and all the tenses. Among us we have made a rule never to speak but in *malavar*. We shall not only speak the language, but after some days we shall order that writing among us is to be done not in the Portuguese but in *malavar*".[48]

Henriques was commissioned by the Visitor of the Society, Alessandro Valignan in 1575 to prepare a number of religious books to continue the labours of St. Francis Xavier. Henrique's 160-paged *Arte de Lingua Malavar* written in Portuguese has been recently discovered by Fr. Xavier S. Thaninayagam [49] at the Bibblioteca nacional de Lisboa (National Library, Lisbon). Rev. H. Hosten has confirmed the availability of a "Grammar pour apprendre a language Tamil" at the National Library of Paris.[50] The Tamil Portuguese Dictionary of Henriques has not come down to us.

Before we describe the story of Ambalakkadu and the missionaries connected with this famous centre of Tamil learning, it is interesting to note how a Chaldean press was set up at Vaipicotta. In compliance with the disciplinary decrees of the Synod of Diamper the Archbishop Menezes wrote to Pope Clement VIII to see about the Chaldaic Missals and Breviaries. The Pope sent a press with Chaldean types, instead of sending copies of Missals, with which books could be printed. This press was brought to Vaipicotta and set up there by Father Alberto Laertius in 1602. The first book printed with the Syriac types at Vaipicotta was a literal translation of the famous Ceremonial and of the Exorcisms, and blessings contained in the Missal. The Syrian Missal and Breviary, as expurgated by Fr. Francis Roz, the new Archbishop, was next taken up for printing. These books were printed in Syriac with notes and explanations in Malayalam for the benefit of the natives.[51]

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48. John Correia-Afonso—93
49. Xavier S. Thaninayagam.
50. Rodeles.
51. Ferroil I, 194 quoting Fr. Peter du Jarric Barns, Margarita.
Leo Proserpio—the *New Review*, Vol. 2, July-December 1935 pp. 321-330
Ferroli I, 470, 472 (quoting In Beltrami).

History of Ambalakkadu Press

Ambalakkāḍu is the greatest landmark in the history of Tamil printing and learning in India whence the first Tamil dictionary was published. The association of lexicographers of the eminence of Fathers Antan de Proenca and Guiseuppe Constanzo Beschi with this tiny village makes it unique in the annals of the literature of Tamil. Arnos Padre (Fr. Johann Ernst Hanxleden-1689-1732) who is the father of Malayalam lyrical compositions was another product of Ambalakkāḍu. His *Pūttaṇpāṇa* (Life of Christ) in some ten thousand verses is daily read by some Christians in Kerala. The recent discovery of the earliest printed Tamil grammar and dictionary compels us to turn our attention to Ambalakkāḍu.

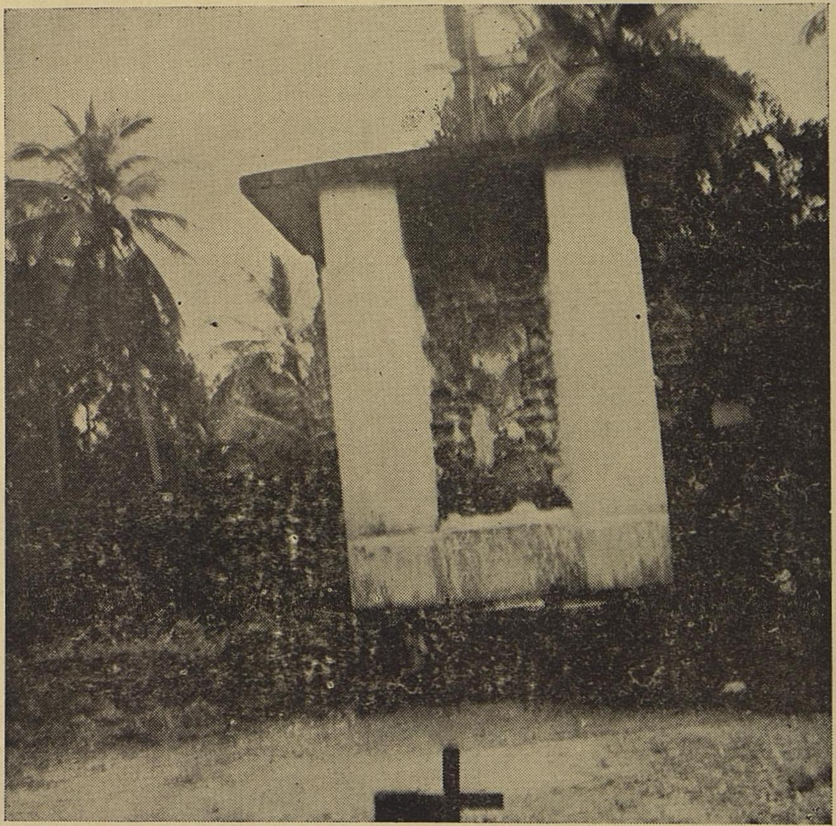
The history of Ambalakkāḍu (spelt Ambaḻakkāḍu in Malayalam and Amblakkatta or Ambalaccatta in Jesuit records) is indeed the history of printing in India. This sleepy village is some twenty miles south of Trichur and is reached by private transport from Cālakkuḍi Railway station. The College of St. Paul, which was the reputed centre of Tamil studies, was situated four furlongs further south of the Church of St. Ferone, probably built in A. D. 300. This age-old church was under rennovation in its original site when this author visited the place in 1968.[52]

The locality where the College of St. Paul was situated is known today as Sampaloor (a corruption of Saint + Paul + *oor* = village of Saint Paul). The church of Sampaloor is two furlongs away from the main road bus stop at pāḷayamparampu (where Tipu Sultan's army had encamped in 1790).

Rev. Charles da Cunha, the minister of the Church of Sampaloor, pointed to me an adjacent compound, inside a ditched mud-fortress, where the seminary (St. Pauls college) and the printing press were situated. The *seminariparampu* where the college was housed, was in those days approched by Pallantōḍ (a choked canal), the present reclaimed low-lying paddy-fields and the Jesuit fāthers brought their printing materials in their boats by this canal. No one dares even to remove the debris of the seminary after its destruction by

52. In September 1968.

Another view of the remains of the Vaipicotta Seminary at Chennamangalam.



There is only one memorial tablet to identify the site of the Jesuit church at Sampaloor to which the St. Paul's College (Seminary) was attached at Ambalakkadu. The original church was destroyed by the army of Tippu Sultan.

Tipu Sultan's hordes in 1790 for fear of visitation of unnatural deaths.

Nothing but the ruins of the original Jesuit church are left at Sampaloor to tell the glory of the college and its printing press. A memorial tablet inside the cemetry wall of the present church tells us: "Ruins of the Jesuit church shot down by Tippoo. Here St. T. Britto has said mass". Perhaps the tablet was erected in memory of the famous martyr B. John de Brito who reached Ambalakkāḍu in 1675 and spent three years before joining the Madura Mission. The names of Archbishop Riberiro, who was the Rector of the seminary for a long time, and others are associated with this famous centre of Tamil and Malayalam studies.[53]

The College of Saint Paul at Ambalakkāḍu (=Sampaloor) was established in 1695 soon after the Jesuit Fathers of Vaipicotta were forced to pack up following the Coonen Cross revolt in 1652. Cardinal Tisserant–Hambye has stated that the seminary of Vaipicotta was removed to Ambalakkāḍu in 1662, but it appears from the Jesuit records that the seminary was not established till the Dutch Conquest of Cochin.[54] Ambalakkāḍu was under the administrative jurisdiction of the Zamorins and the Cōḍaśśeri Karthās, Zamorin's local chieftains, were responsible for granting the facilities for establishing this Jesuit centre.[55] The Jesuits were secure in their new residence, but not before Ist May 1635. The missionaries found the fortified compound beyond the reach of the fanatics and the Dutch. The site for this new training centre, first for the secular clergy and later on for the Jesuit scholastics, was selected after considering many factors such as its being beyond the reach of Dutch and its accessibility to inland water communication.

The seminary at Sampaloor began in poverty. The necessity of printing was felt very keenly as there were no books for the scholastics. The Jesuit Fathers spared no pains to make the seminary an important centre of Tamil and Malayalam studies. They were not satisfied with anything but the raising of it to the status of the Scho-

53. The name of Saint Britto is not found in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. We are following Mackenzie (p. 79) in this respect
54. Anathil—25-26. Ferroli II, 288-97.
55. Local information.

lasticate of the "Collegium Maximum" for the whole of Kerala. It appears from the records that the seminary for the Syrians was separate from that of the Jesuit scholastics, though the Rector was common. The annual output of the clerics from this seminary was of the order of 50. During its existence for one hundred years and more, the seminary catered to the rising demand for Syrian clergy effectively. It was the most important centre, and indeed the citadel of Catholic faith, of Christian research, linguistic studies and philological investigations. The establishment of a polyglot printing press at the college of St. Paul when the seminary was established was the greatest event in the history of printing in India. The testimony of the Carmelite Father Mathews of the St. Joseph's seminary of Alwaye is available to show that several religious books were printed at Ambalakkāḍu as early as 1670. Dr. Claudius Buchanan found a number of grammars and dictionaries printed at Ambalakkāḍu when he visited Kerala in 1806.

The story of Ambalakkāḍu will be incomplete without giving due honour to another Jesuit missionary. The credit for casting types for Tamil letters common to the Fishery and Coromandel coasts goes to Fr. Joao de Faria. According to Francis de Sousa, author of the *Oriente Conquistado*, *Fr. Ceceili Gomez*, Paulinus and other authorities, Fr Faria published a *Flos Sanctorum* or the lives of the Saints in 1578 from Punnaikāyal. He also published *Christian Doctrine*, a copious *Confessionary* (or prayer-book) and other works from Punnaikāyal we are told[56]

Fr. Faria laboured strenuously on the Fishery Coast, contending like the rest of the missionaries with lack of men and books written in the vernacular. He contrived to engrave on wood the characters of the Tamil language in 1578 prompted by his zeal and he was rewarded by people. The publication of the *Flos Sanctorum* was hailed by the native people, Christians and non-Christians alike, who rioted for obtaining copies of the book, simply for the marvel of the invention.

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56. Rodeles quoting Souza (Pt II, Conq. II, div. II n 3. p. 135) Schurhammer. Faria and Gonsalvez both appear in the manuscript catalogue of the Goa province preserved in the Archivum Romanum of the Society of Jesus, Ms Goa 24, fol. 86.

Very little biographical data is available about Fr. Faria. This printer and publisher, except that he entered the Jesuit Society in 1563, studied Latin for four years, moral theology for one year and was ordained priest in Goa in 1575 at the age of 36. De Backer-Sommer Vogel tells us that Faria was born in 1539, arrived at Goa about 1572 and died there in 1582. The Jesuit archives of Rome and Goa do not enlighten us on his life and works.[57]

First Tamil Lexicographer

No one can rebut Fr. Antan de Proenca's claim to be called the Father of Tamil lexicography, but few have acknowledged his indebtedness Fr. Robert da Nobili, the founder of the Madura Mission. Nobili's 40 years of labour in Madura helped in no small measure Fr. Proenca to undertake his immortal work. Born in September 1577 in Rome, Nobili was received into the Society at Naples on June 15, 1596. He reached Goa in 1605 and worked for 50 years in Madura. His excellent command over Tamil, Malayalam and Badaga (Tulu?) helped him to enter into the hearts of the heterogeneous population of the South. His death in 1656 was a great loss to the missionary enterprise. He wrote a number of books in Tamil such as *Gnana Obadesum*, *Atteme Mirunayam*, *Thoukchana Adikkaram*, *Gnana Lakshnanam*, *Gnana Villakam*, *Sattiaveda Nyaya Villakam*, *Visvasa Sallabam*, *Ananda Jivium*, *Nittiya Jivia Sallabam*, *Sangopanga Murei Annusaram* etc. Father Rodeles tells us that Nobili's *Candom* or Christian Doctrine in four volumes was printed at Tranquebar.[58]

Fr. Antan de Proenca (also spelt Antao de Proenza, Anthony de Provenca) whose monumental *Vocabulario Tamulico and Vocabulario Lusitano Tamulico* are preserved at the National Library of Paris (Bibliotheque Nationale), was born at Ramella (Portugal) in 1625 and entered the Society of Jesus on July 13, 1643 at the age of 18. At 22 he was already in Goa, though not yet a priest. He joined the Madura Mission in 1649 and died at Tocaim on December 14, 1666.[59]

"Fr. de Proenca was afflicted with an unascetical obesity which conveniently disguised his austerities and mortifications, and spurred

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57. De Becker-Sommer vogel—*Biblitheque De La Compagnie De Jesus* IX, Col, 313 Schurhammer.
58. Rodeles, Ferroli I.
59. Rodeles, Correia-Afonoso, p. 64.

him to super-human labours. His very presence radiated spiritual joy and he seems to have been endowed with a special gift for dealing with people, high and low alike", says Fr. John Correia-Afonoso. This missionary was in the good books of the Zamindar of Coumarvadi. He wa held in high esteem by all walks of people of the South. The grave of "Paramanandaswami", as he was affectionately called by the people of Madura, on the banks of the Coleroon, is not only venerated by Christians, but by others also. Not satisfied with the simple burial accorded to their pastor, his admirers are said to have dug up his body and interred it in its present tomb, specially built for the purpose. He witnessed and shared the great trials and tribulations of the common folk in those days when the war between the rulers of Tanjore and the Muslims of the North made their life miserable.[60]

Fr. Proenca was a worthy successor to Fr. Nobili and became the superior of the Madura Mission in 1656 after the latter's death. His work lies mainly in Trichinopoly and Gongupatti. His profound knowledge of men and political events of the days enabled him to speak with authority. His unique mastery of the Tamil language is reflected in his *Tamil-Portuguese* and *Portuguese-Tamil Dictionaries.* These dictionaries were published posthumously by the Jesuits from the Ambalakkāḍu press on 30th July, 1679, thirteen years after the death of the compiler. As three articles dealing with the Tamil-Portuguese dictionary of Fr. Proenca has appeared in the *Tamil Culture Vol* XI, No. 2 April-June 1964-it is not proper to devote more space to it in this article. These prized lexicographies are indexed "Indian 222" and "Indian 223" in the National Library of Paris.[61] The *Vocabulario Tamulico-Lusitano*-has got 541 pages of folio size, each divided into two columns, accommodating 70 words each page. His *Vocabulario Lusitano-Tamulico* bearing excellent evidence of penmanship consists of 127 pages, written in two columns. These master-pieces of missionary contribution to Tamil Philological studies are not available in India.

Father Proenca got material help from the works of Fathers Ignatius Bruno, Manoel Martins and other missionaries. His Tamil-

60. Correia-Afonoso, Pp. 64-65.
61. Xavier S. Thaninayagam.

Portuguese and Portuguese dictionaries were revised by scholars of eminence of the day, namely, Fathers Anthony Pereira, Valerian Cataneo, John de Maya and others before printing. Father Balthasar de Costa added a Tamil grammar at the end of Fr. Proenca's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary.[62]

Ignatius Aichamani[63], a native Tamilian, had the unique honour of casting Tamil types for printing Proenca's dictionaries at Ambalakkāḍu. The title page of the Tamil–Portuguese dictionary reads: "*Vocablario/Tamvlico/Coma Sigoificacam Portvgveza/Composto Pello P. Antam de Proenca da Companhia de Iesv Missionario da Missam de Madvrey* Com todas as licencas necessarias da santa Inquizicao/E dos Superiores Na imprensa Tamulica da Provincia do Malabar/por gnacio Aichamoni impressor della, Ambalacatta em 30, de Lulho, 1679 annos" "Though the types engraved by Aichamani were elegant, they got worn out by constant use and owing to the softness of the material, wood", Fr. Rodeles tells us. Bishop Medlycott, who inspected a copy of Fr. Proeoca's Tamil-Portuguese dictionary at Trichur in the first decade of this century (unfortunate it was that the editors of the *Tamil Lexicon* could not trace a copy) tells us that the Tamil section was engraved on wooden blocks while the Portuguese was printed in movable types. "The appearance of the Dictionary was smudgy", he adds. The credit for cutting the Tamil types in their present form has been given to Aichamani by Father Paulinus also. A list of books printed at Ambalakkadu is available in Rome, it said, along with the copy of the Tamil Portuguese dictionary of Fr. Proenca. The copy of Fr. Proenca's Tamil-Portuguese dictionary now available at the Vatican Library belonged originally to the Library of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

The contribution of the St. Paul's College to the development of Tamil and Malayalam has gone unappreciated. The Jesuit fathers enriched these languages by circulating Catechisms and devotional books. We are deliberately omitting here the contributions of Arnos Padre and other pioneer missionaries to the growth and development of Malayalam in this article. The Jesuit fathers enriched

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62. Rodeles.
63. Rodeles, Mackenzie, Ferroli I, 470.

Malayalam with grammars and lexicons. "The Jesuits in Ambalacatte teach the Malabar youth all sciences and languages for nothing"[64] wrote Adrian Moens in his memorandum dated 18th April 1781. But for its destruction by Tipu in 1790, the seminary would have contributed materially to the development of South Indian languages.

The destruction of the seminary at Ambalakkāḍu was a great loss to Tamil lexicography and literary studies, but the rise of seminaries at Verapoly and Alwaye helped Malayalam to stand on its own legs by the efforts of the Carmelite and other missionaries.

Before we conclude this essay on Vaipicotta and Ambalakkadu, it is proper to recall another Tamil lexicographer who was associated with the Saint Paul's College. Father Joseph Constantus Beschi[65] (=Constanzo Cuiseppe Beschi) who is the Father of Modern Tamil worked at the Saint Paul's College for some time before he began his great mission at Madura. This great master of Tamil was born at Castiglione in the Venetian Republic on 8th November 1680. He joined the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus on October 2, 1698. He studied Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Portuguese and Italian before he was ordained a priest in 1708. Beschi embarked for Goa early in 1710 from Lisbon and reached that place in September or October of the same year. His thorough orientation at Ambalakkāḍu stood him in good stead for working as the successor of Fathers Nobili and Proenca. His quick genius and maturity of judgment was liked by Mughal General Candā Sāhib and the Nawab of Arcot. The Raja of Trichinopoly even made him his Prime Minister, though this tradition is not sufficiently documented. To him the Christian houses of Ambalakkāḍu which were more "like stables than houses" and the royal palaces of Madura did make little difference. Though he was once seized and threatened with death for his great missionary zeal, he was spared to do greater things for Tamil during the 36 years of his stay in South India. In his death at Maṇapāḍ in 1746 we lost the greatest Tamil grammarian, lexicographer and poet.

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64. Adrian Moens—Dutch Governor of Cochin, quoted by Anathil, 25-26.
65. Article of Fr. G. Gudner, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York), Vol. 2 p. 526.
66. Rodeles, Correia-Afonoso, L. Besse—Father Beschi, Trichinopoly, 1918. O'Malley (ed) *Modern India and the West*, London 1941.

Father Beschi's grammar of the Low Tamil (the common dialect) still remains the foundation of scientific Tamil Philology. His grammar of High Tamil is unsurpassed. We wonder if anybody had ever achieved his erudition in Tamil lexicography. His *Sadur Ahardi* (quadruple dictionary) containing words, synonyms, categories of words and rhymes is the pride of Tamil. His Tamil-Latin and Tamil-Latin-Portuguese dictionaries are peerless. His *Kitteri ammalie Sartiram* sings the praise of the martyr St. Quiteria in 1100 stanzas. His greatest work is undoubtedly the *Tembavani* (The Unfading Garland) ranked as a masterpiece of Tamil classics. This Tamil "*Divina Comedia*" contains 3,615 stanzas divided into 35 cantos. "This is the noblest epic poem in honour of St. Joseph written in any literature, East or West", declares an authority. His *Paramartaguru Kadey* (adventures of the Guru Paramartha) has been translated into English, French, Latin, German, Italian and Canarese. This is a work bubbling with wit and wisdom.

"His versatile genius and erudition have left an indelible impress on every branch of Tamil literature. As he avoided Father Robet de Nobili's blinding passion for Sanskritising Tamil, he is rightly called the Father of Tamil prose; he was the pioneer of Tamil fiction; he was also the pioneer Tamil lexicographer compiling the first Tamil dictionary", says Father Correia- Afonoso.

Ambalakkāḍu did not only produce Beschis and Proencas, but also many more linguists and lexicographers, but they remain dust-laden in Jesuit archives. Nothing but tradition and memory recall them at Sampaloor. A baptismal font unearthed from the site of the old Jesuit church attached to the College of Saint Paul at Ambalakkāḍu today, which unfortunately lies uncared for in the courtyard of Fr. Cunha's bangalow, recalls the glory that was Ambalakkāḍu, the greatest centre of Tamil and Malayalam studies in the 17th and 18th centuries,

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Xavier S. Thaninayagm 'Tamil Manuscripts in European Libraries', *Tamil Culture*, Vol. III, Nos 3 & 4, October 1954.

Notes:

1. Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist was the patron saint of scribes and illuminators—hence John (=juan, Jean, Johannes, Jaoa, Giovanni and other variations of John) with names of printers. See Johannes Gutenberg, Juan Bustamante, Juan Gonsalvez, Joao Faria etc.
2. The author's articles in the *Modern Review* (October 1963), *Enlite* (Jan. 27, 1968), *Enlite*. (March 1, 1969), *Sunday Standard* (March 9, 1969) *Hindu* (March 30, 1969), *Hindu* (April 1, 1969) *Mail* (Madras, August 30), 1969) *Examiner* Bombay, November 15 & December 6, 1969) may be read for Missionaries and Printing in Kerala. An exhaustive article on Carmelites and their contribution to the Malayalam lexicography is scheduled for publication in the Kerala University's Journal of Dravidian Linguistics.
3. The author is a free-lance research worker, author and journalist. His private address is 82/C Kansaripara Road, Calcutta-25.

Mattavilāsa on the Kerala Stage

BY

N. P. UNNI

In the declining centuries of the Indian theatre the language of Sanskrit drama was understood only by a minority of the spectators. This state of affairs must have given impetus to the modification and popularisation of the Sanskrit drama by admitting other arts also into its domain. A writer named Kāśyapa has worked out at length the Rāga-Rasa schemes for use in drama.[1] This was the dance-drama style in which the dramas of Kālidāsa and Harṣa were produced all over India. Dāmōdaragupta the chief minister of King Jayapīḍa of Kashmir has given a detailed account of such a representation of the first act of *Ratnāvali* of Harṣa in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* also called *Śambhalīmatam.*[2] Aṅkīya Nāṭ of Assam is the result of such a popularisation of the Sanskrit stage; where, in addition, local language also is used in enacting Sanskrit dramas [3]

Kūṭiyāṭṭam in which dance, drama and music combine, is perhaps the earliest known form of enacting Sanskrit drama in Kerala and it is somewhat different from other forms of dramatic representations known to have existed elsewhere.[4] Kulaśekharavarman, an ancient king of Kerala, himself a renowned dramatist and author of the dramas *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* and *Subhadradhanañjaya* and who had donned the role of characters in his own plays, is credited with the reformation of the Kerala stage by boldly introducing several innovations which are generally observed in Kūṭiyāṭṭam performances.[5] In this he is supposed to have been assisted by his friend Tōlan, by composing manuals on stage-craft generally styled Aṭṭaprakāras and

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1. Dr. V. Raghavan "Sanskrit drama and performance". *Journal of the University of Madras*—Vol. XXIV. No. 1 p. 22, 1957.
2. *Kuṭṭanīmatam of Dāmodaragupta*, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1961, pp. 173-182.
3. B. K. Barua, *Aṅkīya Nāṭ*, Gauhati, 1940
4. See Keralavarma Ammaman Tampuran, *Kūttum Kūṭiyāṭṭavum*, Trichur, 1114 M. E, for details.
5. N. P. Unni, *Kulaśēkharavarman and his works*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Trivandrum, 1957.

Kramadīpikas for staging Sanskrit dramas in the temple theatre of Kerala.[6]

There are several restrictions in putting Sanskrit dramas on the Kerala stage. The drama is usually staged inside the Kūttampalam-temple theatre built to specifications—within the precincts of a temple, by Ampalavāsis, a section of the temple servants—the Cākyārs, the Nampyārs and their women, the Naṅyārs. While the Cākyār performs the part of the male characters in the play, the Naṅyārs act the role of women and the Nampyār is to work on the drum—the musical instrumènt known as Mil̲āvu.

The Vidūṣaka is an essential character in this kind of performance in so far as he finds a place in the drama put on the stage. He is to recite for the benefit of the masses a vernacular translation of every verse. As in the case ef Aṅkīya Nāt̲ of Assam only one act of the drama is invariably covered in a Kūṭiyāṭṭam performance and that on no occasion is a drama staged in full unless it happens to be an one act play like Prahasanas. Generally a performance lasts for many days ranging from six to eighteen or twenty days and in the case of Mantrāṅkam it lasts for twentyone days.[7] Usually the performance takes place between the evening and midnight.

The first day is tāken up with the depiction of Kūttupurappāḍ, the starting of the play or Praveśaka also called Sthāpana in which the Sūtradhāra introduces the play. On the second day is Nirvahaṇa in which the Sūtradhāra who often dons the role of the principal character in the play, narrates with gestures, the introductory portion of the particular act which is being staged. The preliminaries over, the story begins usually on the third day and if the particular act happens to have a Vidūṣaka, the beginning of the story is further delayed by three or four days.

Sanskrit dramas are not staged as such in Kūṭiyāṭṭam. Individual acts from well-known classical dramas are selected and adapted for the stage and each of such acts is known by a different name.[8] Every act which is staged in Kūṭiyāṭṭam is often re-written according to the exigencies of the stage and we have manuals that help the

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6. P. V. Krishna Varıyar, *Tōlamahākavi* P. K. Bros., Calicut, 1953.
7. Keralavarman Ammaman Tampuran, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
8. Cf. Mantrāṅka, (*Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* Act III) and Svapnāṅka (*Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act IV)

staging of the plays, composed by Cākyārs. These manuals supply introductory portions of the story to be enacted in the Nirvahaṇa and in certain cases vernacular translations and parodies. Without the assistance of such manuals no act of a drama could be staged and hence Cākyārs have prepared such manuals in advance for the plays or acts which they usually put on the temple theatre. According to the tradition of the Cākyārs the number of acts in which they are usually trained is only seventy-two including the one-act dramas and Prahasanas. [9] These acts are selected from only 24 classical dramas among them *Mattavilāsa* of the Pallava king Mahendravikramavarman (7th century A. D.) and *Bhagavadajjuka* are the two Prahasanas adapted for the Kerala Stage.

Mattavilāsa with its religious theme projecting a Saivite point of view and describing a satirical story centering round a drunken Kāpālika, his wife, a Buddhist Bhikṣu of loose morals, a Pāsupata and a lunatic; was an obvious choice for the Cākyār in search of a farce fit to be enacted within the precincts of a Hindu temple, especially in a temple consecrated to Siva. The drunken revelry of the Kāpālika is more or less equated with the dance of Siva by the devotees, who in their religious mood, identify him with the God Supreme indulging in his eternal dance. The dance of Siva, sometimes referred to as 'Mattavilāsa-tirunṛttam'-the intoxicated dance of the Supreme Being-was to appease goddess Durga in her form as Bhadrakāḷi. Durga, after ki lling the demon Dāruka, returned to the side of Siva with unabated fury and in a murderous mood. The god assumed his dancing stance to escape the fury and Durga was soon attracted by the divine dance, casting away her anger she herself assuming the same dancing pose.[10]

The Kerala actors who play the role of Satyasoma the Kapālin in the play suggest his similarity with Siva and this lends a holy atmosphere to the performance. This attitude enhanced the popularity of the farce in the Kerala theatre and such performances were instituted as a mode of worship in temples consecrated to Siva by devotees to beget issues in their family. Such offerings are made to Siva in the temple of Cerumannam variously called Tṛjjaṭakkunnu,

9. K. R. Pisharati, 'South Indian Theatre' — *The Theatre of Hindus*, Sushilgupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, 1955, p. 201.
10. Dr. C. Achyutha Menon, *Kali worship in Kerala*, University of Madras, Madras, 1943, pp. 41 and 203.

Tṛcceramannu and Triccirakkunnu near Koṭṭiyūr in North Malabar, where the performance of *Mattavilāsa* by Cākyār is a regular feature of the annual festivals; in addition it is occasionally performed at the request of devotees[11]. The devotees conduct this performance in order to fulfil their various desires, especially the desire to get an offspring. Similar performances are instituted also in the Siva temple at Tṛkkāriyūr in the Kottayam District[12]. Thus the play has assumed a religious importance also at the hands of the Cākyār an unusual status for a satirical composition.

Unfortunately no Āṭṭaprakāra or Kramadīpika giving a complete account of the staging of this Prahasana in Kūṭiyāṭṭam is available to us. However some old manuscripts contain certain information on this aspect, though only of a fragmentary nature.

A few commentaries or rather glosses on *Mattavilāsa* are available in fragments, the manuscripts being rather old and brittle. Dr. L. D. Barnett has referred to an anonymous commentary upon it.[13] According to him ' a large part of this commentary consists of Chayā or Sanskrit renderings of the Prākṛt passages[14]. But it contains no reference to the staging of the farce. Another manuscript with the title *Mattavilāsaprahasanaṭīkā* available to us again contains only a gloss in addition to the corresponding Sanskrit rendering for Prākṛt lines. The gloss is given partly in Malayalam also.[15] The first reference to the farce being used in Kūṭiyāṭṭam performance is provided by a fragmentary account on it in the last two leaves of a codex containing the text of the play[16]. The manuscript under reference contains a few verses used by the Cākyārs in addition to instructions on using the respective tunes in which the verses are to be sung. Yet another manuscript under the title *Mattavilāsatippaṇam* contains 41 slokas purported to be a detailed commentary on the first verse of the play recited by the Sūtradhāra.[17] This commentary in metrical form gives us some useful information as to how

11. Mani Madhava Cakyar, *Mattavilāsam*, 1968, Preface, p. 1.
12. The author is indebted to Sri K. R. Subramonia Sarma, Research Officer, Kerala University Manuscript Library, for this information.
13. Brit. Mus. Or No. 9272, BROS III, pp. 281-285, London, 1923-25.
14. L. D. Barnett, 'Some notes on Mattavilāsa', *Ibid.*, p. 281.
15. *Descriptive catalogue of Manuscripts in the Govt. Mss. Library*, Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, 1927, Ms. No. 96/1919-24, p. 158.
16. KUML, Ms. No. 17872 B.
17. KUML, Ms. No. 17946 B.

Cākyārs used to enact the Nirvahaṇa or introductory portion of the play. Even the most recent publication on this subject issued by an authority who himself has been putting the farce on the temple theatre contains only a limited account.[18] The information is mainly gathered by him in a traditional or hereditary capacity from practising Cākyārs of the last generation. Moreover it is limited in so far as it refers only to the practice in vogue in the Koṭṭiyūr temple. Putting all these accounts together we may get an idea of the stage practice with regard to the farce in Kerala.

At present the performance is generally limited to the Siva temple, the stage being the usual Kūttampalam found in the temple compound. The duration is now limited to three days or evenings though we have evidence to suppose that it was not so in ancient times. An Āṭṭaprakāra on *Bhagavadajjuka* states that in *Mattavilāsa* the Sūtradhāra alone holds the stage for seven days[19] and this obviously is to be followed by a further three or four days. Though there are several characters in the play only the role of the principal character that of the Kapālin, named Satyasoma is donned by Cākyār, the other relevent characters being represented by him through 'stōbha[20]. Thus the number of characters appearing on the stage is limited to the irreducible minimum Further, only a part of the story is enacted, the quarrel scene etc., being omitted and the performance coming to an end with the representation of the sixth verse of the play beginning with *Udbhinnaśramavāribindu*, etc. A religious importance has come to accrue to the play at the expense of its dramatic significance.

The following is the theme of this representation as suggested by the adapted version of the Cākyār:-[21] Satyasōma, a born Saivite, married a Brahmin maiden called Devasomā. Once, on his way to the Siva temple, he noticed some Brahmin boys chopping down the branches of a Palāśa tree, having climbed the top of it. He chided the boys and offerred to help them, himself climbing the tree. While he was at it, the knife accidentally slipped from his hands killing a Brahmin boy on the spot collecting the fallen branches. He climbed down in grief and carrying on his shoulder the dead body

18. Mani Madhava Cakyar, *op. cit.*
19 *KUML* Ms. No. T. M. 79; KSC, I p 272.
20. It is a peculiar feature of Kūṭiyāṭṭam. The same actor assumes the pose of several, including women, simultaneously by his clever representation.
21. Mani Madhava Cakyar, *op cit.*, pp. 5-6.

of the Brahmin boy he went to an assembly of learned Brahmins to await their judgement upon his sin. They advised him to worship Siva to absolve himself of the sin and accordingly Satyasoma along with his wife performed the penance. The god having been pleased by the austerity appeared before him and said: 'Now you are freed from your guilt of killing a Brahmin. Since you have pleased me by doing penance in the form of a Kapālin you remain as such pleasing the people by your dance till you become one with me loosing your separate identity by merging in me. Further dance will bestow consolation on those who are afflicted in the world and on those who are childless by fulfilling their worldly desires. Accordingly Satyasoma in the company of his wife began to roam about the world emulating the dance of Siva and at last he became one with the dancing god. Thus a religious halo is attached to the story and it was put on stage as an offering to god Siva.

The performance is heralded by a benedictory stanza in praise of Siva. [22] On the first day the Nampyār assuming the role of Nāndīsūtradhāra kindles a lamp with three wicks, sounds the drum, performs the worship and once again sounds the drum and musical instruments along with the Naṅyār. Then he comes to the centre of the stage standing in front of the lamp with some water and flowers and sprinkles the stage pronouncing a verse in praise of Siva. [23] Now the Cākyār enters the stage dressed in the costume of the Sthāpanāsūtradhāra. He gesticulates that he is going to Mount Kailasa to witness the dance of Siva, he was attracted by the sound of the drum while he was reading the *Bhagavata* after his morning ablution. But on the way he meets with some Brahmins of high virtue and decides to bless them by his dance. He recites the first verse of the drama[24] upto the middle of the second line ending with '*bhāvāveśavaśāt*' and gesticulates the meaning of the whole verse and blesses them. Once again the process is repeated. Then he pictures to himself the forms of Siva and Parvati and worships them to the accompaniment of the stōtras sung by the Naṅyār lady. After worshipping other deities as well he retires for the day along with others.

On the second evening the Nirvahaṇa, in which the connecting link of the story to be enacted, is provided. The Cākyār dressed as

22. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
24. *TSS*. No. 55, p 1.

Sūtradhāra enters and gesticulates the meaning of the verse already hinted at in the previous evening. His aim is to create a background for the principal character of the farce, Kapālin-Satyasōma, the Brahmin, holding an alms bowl and supposed to be identified with Śiva himself. For this the Naṅyār lady recites the verses from the second and third cantos of *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa wherein the story of the penance of Pārvati, the futile attempt of Kāma instigated by gods to win Siva and the subsequent calamity in which he is burnt to ashes, the severe penance of Pārvati and the final success by winning Siva for her husband etc., are described. The Cākyār interprets through gesticulation the meaning of these verses as they are recited by the lady, who continues the story probably based on some Aṭṭaprakāra prepared for the purpose. The story is that Subrahmanya the son of Siva and Pārvati was elected the commander of the forces of the gods. The demon Taraka was killed in a fierce battle by Subrahmania. Then a new class of demons called Raktabījas who grew out of the blood shed on the battle field posed a new threat which Subrahmania could not combat. He sought the help of his father Siva, who tried to kill the demons by his spear. But to his dismay a thousand Raktabijas sprang up from each drop of blood that was shed. Then from his third eye goddess Bhadrakali was produced and she wiped out the demons in a furious onslaught. But once the aim was fulfilled she could not be subdued and she rushed at the gods in an attempt to devour them. To appease her Siva resorted to his famous dance in which the goddess was gradually enamoured. After portraying this story by his gesticulation the Cākyār recites tha balance of the verse from the play recited the previous day, beginning with '*Anekarasatām trailōkyayātrāmayam*' and enacts the meaning of the whole verse once again. The Brahmins who are supposed to surround him want to witness the holy dance of Siva and the Sūtradhāra says that it is enough to witness the dance of Satyasoma, the kapālin, who is practically the god himself. The Brahmins agree to this and they set out to meet the Kapālin.

Thus the story of the second day not only provides a religious atmosphere for the performance but also connects up with the play at hand. All these wild deviations from the drama proper are woven around the meaning of the first verse which is in praise of Siva. According to the version of the *Mattavilāsaṭippaṇam*[25] only the

25. *KUML* Ms. No. 17946 B.

first portion of the story ending with Kāmadahana seems to have been adapted by the Cākyār at first. This portrayal is in sequel to the meaning of the word '*Anekarasatām*' occurring in the verse, since in Kāmadahana all the different emotions are hinted at [26]. It is the latter half of the story that lends a religious fervour to the play by introducing the dance of Siva, which again can well be connected with the meaning of the verse at hand.

On the third evening the Cākyār appears on the stage dressed as Satyasōma, the Kapālin. The Nañyār recites a verse which refers to the appearance of Satyasōma who has practically identified himself with god Siva. Thus he besmears his limbs with ashes, wears matted locks and a loin cloth, holds a trident, sounds a handy double drum, sets his feet in a dancing spree; drinks wine from his kapāla—the alms-bowl, and runs with his faltering feet in a hilarious mood accompanied by his wife Dēvasomā. [27] This verse not occurring in the play of Mahendravarman is recited again by the Nañyār. Now the Cākyār standing behind the curtain and dressed in the appropriate costume of the Kapālin recites a verse of his own in praise of liquor which is likened to goddess. 'Oh, goddess liquor? the mother of intoxication! placed in a cupful, are ye afraid of me? Bereft of strength, am I intoxicated? The whole world seems to be intoxicated'.[28] Having repeated the verse the Cākyār comes to the stage properly addressing his wife Devasomā. Here he uses the text prescribed for the character in the drama. [29] The passage is repeated and the meaning is indicated by his gestures. His speech is completed with the verse prescribed for him in the play, [30] and its meaning is properly conveyed by his action. Then he indulges in dance and pictures to himself the forms of Siva and Parvati offering worship to them to the accompaniment of certain stōtras sung by the Nañyār on the occasion. These verses are culled from various sources.

Now all of them enter inside the temple where the performance is held and worship the deity. Once again they come back to the stage and this time the Cākyār resting on a wooden stool recounts

26. *Ibid.*
27. Mani Madhava Cakyar, *op. cit.*, p. 7; *KUML* MS. No. 17872 B.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
29. *TSS*. 55. p. 5.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the whole story by gestures, giving the details of his penance along with his wife, the blessing of the god giving his identity to Satyasōma and the boon that whoever witnesses his dance will fulfil their desires like begetting an issue. He again worships the god, offers liquor in the worship, drinks it along with his wife and repeats the verse describing the effect of liquor on her. With a final worship of the god and an intoxicated dance, the performance comes to an end.

The above account of the performance with a religious outlook is gathered from a practising Cākyār who is still active on the stage. We have already noticed that there is evidence in an old manuscript that the story of Kāmadahana was freely adopted in the exposition of the first verse. Since the manuscript is two or three centuries old, the practice itself might date back to several centuries. But it is not likely that the mode of representation curtailing the scope of the farce was the age-long custom for it is an injustice to the royal author to select only a part of an one act farce and to represent it in an entirely different light. Moreover this is not the case with regard to the staging of the plays of Bhāsa and others on the Kerala stage.

That this was not the case in early days is made out by a fragmentary manuscript on staging the play. [31] The manuscript under reference gives some verses describing the city of Kāñci where Satyasōma flourished. The Siva temple at Ekamranātha also is referred to in the description,[32] which probably is to be used for the Nirvahaṇa. The stealthy way in which Nāgasena the Buddhist mendicant enters the toddy shop is portrayed in another stanza.[33] Another character mentioned here is Bābhrukalpa, the Pāśupata.[34] Unmattaka, the lunatic is referred to as being chased by dogs and crows. [35] From these references we may hold that the whole play was staged in Kūṭiyāṭtam during the last two or three centuries. Such a full-fledged performance must have lasted for a considerable period. We have already noticed that the Sūtradhāra alone held the stage for seven days at a stretch.

31. *KUML*. No. 17872 B.
32. *Ibid*
33. *Ibid*.
34. *Ibid*.
35 *Ibid*.
36. KSC I, p. 125.

We may conclude that *Mattavilasa* was a favourite piece of the Cākyār repertoire and that it was widely used in the temple theatres of Kerala because of its Saivite flavour and its overwhelming humour best suited for festival occasions in Hindu temples. Its popularity might have persuaded the Cākyār to give it a more dominant religious trait and as a result it lost much of its dramatic merit as a farce, though it acquired a religious halo unrivalled in the whole field of dramatic literature in Sanskrit. Here dance acquired dominance over drama. Nīlakantha (c. 10th century A. D.) the reputed author of *Kalyāṇāsaugandhika*, a vyāyoga, has hinted at this importance of dancing in *Mattavilāsa*, for it pleases the divine beings.[86] It is quite possible that this aspect of the Prahasana might have contributed to a great extent in preserving this humorous work to posterity.

Travancore Rebellion of 1809 — Its Anti-Christian Origin

BY

R. N. YESUDAS,

With the appointment of Col. Colin Macaulay as the British resident at the Court of the Maharajah of Travancore, Christianity began to receive active patronage and assistance. His career and activities affected the whole course of the history of Travancore, and led to disaffection and rebellion. The Travancore Rebellion of 1809 engineered by Vēlu Tampi, the Dewan of Travancore, centred primarily round religious and personal grievances, but as the conflict dragged on Vēlu Tampi identified himself with the disaffected groups of Travancore against British interference in the country's affairs.

Although Christianity spread in Travancore in the early centuries of the Christian era, proselytisation was not viewed with favour by the Government of Travancore. Proselytism being a transgression of the laws of the country, converts could only be baptized in the night or at Verapoly under the protection of the Dutch Company.[1] The Brahmins, the very powerful priestly class among the Hindus, were dead against proselytism. Custom and public opinion being against conversion, the King, who was the upholder of Sanātana Dharma had to support the Brahmins. "The King of Travancore" says Bartalomeo, in the matter of conversion, "threatens with imprisonment and death every noble man, who shall quit his court to become a Christian, and who shall afterwards fall into his hands and indeed Neelan Pillay, an officer of a noble family, was shot at Aramboly because he refused to renounce the religion of Jesus Christ. In the year 1787, I saw four Nayars thrown into prison at Tiruvandaburam because they would not apostatise from the Catholic Church...... They were at last transported beyond the boundaries of Tovala".[2]

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1. *The Indian Evangelical Review*, No. XXV, Art, History of Travancore p. 439.
2. *Ibid.*

When a festival and procession were conducted at the installation ceremony of the Metrān (Metropolitan of the Syrian Christians) with great pomp and show, the Sarvādhikāryakār of Alaṅṅāṭ and later the Dewan himself questioned the leaders for conducting it without the permission of the Maharajah, who replied that it was a customary ceremony observed from early times, and the Dewan was satisfied with the answer only after a detailed enquiry.[3] Slavery in the most unmitigated form prevailed, for, a large portion of the population was actual slaves of the soil, while others belonging to the lower castes were in no better condition. Barbarous caste restrictions forbade the use of high ways to out-castes and any one daring to come within polluting distance of higher caste men would be cut down at once.[4] The proper salutation from a female of higher caste, to persons of rank and power was to uncover the bosom.[5]. The Rajah might sell into slavery persons of various castes, who had committed any crime, by which they lost caste or were liable to capital punishment.[6] Because of the miserable and superstitious life of the low-caste people of Travancore, the persecution of Christians, and the intolerant attitude of the Government, news spread outside, especially among the missionaries, that, "It is a land full of devils."[7]

Col. Macaulay, who was appointed Resident in May 1800, came into contact with the common people, believed that, the lower castes, who were immersed in ignorance and superstition could be redeemed from their primitive ways of life by spreading Christianity and education.[8] The formation of new Missionary Societies, the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, London Missionary Society in 1795 and the Church Missionary Society in 1799, encouraged Macaulay to attempt the liberation of the lower caste people of Travancore. Macaulay who was very much influenced by the activities of these missionary societies resolved to invite them to labour in Travancore.

His religious interest encouraged Macaulay to make many plans in his mind. For the successful execution of those plans, he desired

3. *Varttamāna Puttakam*, Part i, pp. 46-47.
4. Rev. Samuel Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore* (London, 1883) p 291.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. C. M. Agur. *Church History of Travancore* (Madras, 1903), p. 496.
8. M. O. Joseph, *Māttū Tarakan* (Malayalam Biography), p. 15

the appointment of a friend of the British as Dewan. Vēlu Tampi, who organised an insurrection in 1799 against oppression and exploitation of the people by native officials, at first received the appointment of Muḷaku Madiśśila Sarvādhikāryakār or Finance Minister.[9] When Vēlu Tampi was elevated to the office of Dewan in 1801 on his recommendation.[10] the Resident was very happy. Vēlu Tampi daring and clever, established good friendship with Col. Macaulay, for, he believed that without the support of the Resident he could not carry on the administration of state affairs smoothly. Macaulay became satisfied with the activities of Vēlu Tampi and he wrote a letter to the authorities describing his natural ability, love towards the state and loyalty to the English East India Company.[11]

The appointment of Vēlu Tampi as Dewan and his league with the Resident, who was always against the existing customs and practices of Travancore, created resentment and jealousy among his own colleagues, who hatched a conspiracy against him in March 1804, by inducing the Maharajah to believe that, the Resident and Vēlu Tampi were in league to deprive him of the services of his faithful officers and that the Resident was anxious to seize all power over the administration.[12] It is reported that, the Rajah issued orders for the speedy execution of the Dewan. When the Dewan heard of this at Alleppey, he immediately went to Cochin, met Macaulay, and returned to Trivandrum in a hurry, with a letter from him. The Rajah refused to see him.[13] Thereupon Col. Macaulay immediately with an army arrived at Trivandrum, when news arrived that the orders were withdrawn. The conspirators were captured and punished.[14] "The only motive" wrote Col. Macaulay that "appears to have impelled such men to perpetrate a deed of so deeply criminal a nature seems to have sprung from perverted feelings of

9. Central Records Office, Trivandrum, Nīttus, Vol. 4, p. 8.
10. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, (Trivandrum, 1900), Vol. 1. p.435.
11. Quoted by Parameswaran Pillay in his pamphlet "*Travancore for Travancoreans*"
12. T, K, Velu Pillai, *The Travancore State Manual* Vol. II, p. 457.
13. N. Balakrishnan Nair, *Swarājyābhimāni* (Trivandrum, 1955), p,178.
14. *Ibid* p 179.
The leading conspirators, Kuñcunīlan Pilla, Nārāyaṇan Cempakarāman Piḷḷa, Vañciyūr Padmanābhan Cempakarāman Piḷḷa etc., were arrested and kept under confinement. Some of them died in prison.

enmity towards the Dewan in consequence of having endeavoured to convince his master of the expediency of his reposing an honourable confidence in the acknowledged generosity and good faith and in the powerful protection of the British Government." [15] The suppression of the conspiracy did not destroy the opposition to the Dewan.

Aware of the combination of the Resident and the Dewan and on the basis of the reports of his favourites at the time of the conspiracy, the Maharajah addressed a letter to the Governor-General demanding the immediate recall of the Resident. He was therefore summoned to Calcutta, but the decision of the Governor-General was unfavourable to the Rajah. The Governor-General wrote:-

"The Major being an energetic Officer was sent to Travancore in the hope that he should conduct all affairs to your satisfaction. I am sorry to hear so from you. Major Macaulay by our order came to Calcutta and fully related matters. He says that there are no differences between you and him, and I am very glad to hear this. Vēlu Tampi's appointment as Dewan was a source of great pleasure to the Government, because he is able and energetic".[16]

Macaulay was very much impressed by the energy and hardwork of Vēlu Tampi. A letter written by Macaulay when he was in Calcutta clearly shows his friendship for Vēlu Tampi and the favourable estimate formed of him by the Marquis of Wellesley.

"......... I am happy that the Travancore minister is going on so well. I have most particularly mentioned him to Marquis Wellesley who has been gratified by hearing of the judicious choice made by the Rajah."[17]

On the basis of the reports of the Resident, the Governor-General sent to the Dewan, a valuable present, consisting of a shawl and gown; as a mark of his appreciation of his ability and loyalty[18] Thus with the timely help of the Resident, Vēlu Tampi regained his former position and influence.[19] He at this time appealed to the Resident to return Shencotta, which was previously in the hands of

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15. Sec. Cons. 2nd May, 1805, No. 151.
16. Quoted by T. K. Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, p. 457.
17. *Ibid*, p. 458
18. T. K. Velu Pillai, *Vēlu Tampi Dalava* (Trivandrum, 1125), p.63.
19. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit*, Vol- I, pp. 422-23.

Travancore and was subsequently occupied by the Company, on the plea that, it belonged to the Nabob of Carnatic. The Resident consented to it and wrote to the Madras Government, which was granted.[20]

The cordiality and friendship between the Resident and the Dewan again created resentment among the Officers, especially the Samprati and his supporters, who incited an uprising of the Travancore battalions in December 1804, apparently for the restoration of certain allowances reduced earlier; but the real intention of the rebels was to assassinate the Dewan and the Resident, and oppose by force of arms the interference of the English in the affairs of Travancore.[21] They also believed that, the combination of the Resident and the Dewan would lead to the spread of Christianity in Travancore. With the active co-operation of the Dewan's enemies, they broke open the jails and released the prisoners, abandoned the military stations to which they were attached, marched to the capital, and demanded the immediate dismissal of the Dewan.[22] The troops stationed at Alleppey also revolted. The Dewan escaped to Cochin. He acted in concert with the Resident, and took measures to suppress the revolt. When the insurrection was in full swing, the alarmed Rajah called in the Christian fishermen from the coast to defend him. "They assembled at Trivandrum in immense numbers, each man armed with a short bludgeon, the bowmen from the hills appeared at the same time in the Rajahs' behalf and the Nayars laid down their arms and fled. About fifty of the ring leaders were seized and hanged."[23] Thus with the help of the British army[24] and the natives, the rebellion against the Dewan was suppressed.

The British Government took it as an opportunity to press for a revision of the treaty of 1795. The Governor General Wellesly wrote to the Governor of Madras that this was the best opportunity for a revision of the treaty of 1795, and issued necessary orders to the Resident for the same.[25] The Resi-

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20. N. Balakrishnan Nair, *op cit.* p 176.
21. Sec. Cons. 31st January 1805, No 169
22. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 423.
23. Pearson, *Memoirs of Claudius Buchanan*, p.238.
24. In consultation with the Resident, the Dewan collected the Carnatic Brigade and marched to Quilon. The former issued instructions to the Tinnevelly troops to march to Trivandrum. This also created fear among the insurgents.

dent accordingly presented the modifications to the treaty to the Rajah. The Rajah feared that the modifications will contribute to further deterioration in the political atmosphere of the country, and so declined to accept it. The Resident then appointed his advisers Ramalinga Mudaliar and Stānapati Subbian to persuade the King to sign the treaty. Nothing came out of it and the Rajah continued to stick to his previous view of the Treaty. When the King persistently refused to consent to the modifications, the Resident requisitioned the sending of a Battalion under Major General Mac Dowel to Travancore from Tinnevelly.[26] Vēlu Tampi now interfered, and persuaded the Rajah to accept the revision of the Treaty for preventing the entrance of British troops in Travancore, and accordingly the Rajah signed the treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance (1805).[27] According to the Rajah, the Treaty was an "act of extortion" which obliged him to do what he could not "without violating the laws of his country and creating a general cause of discontentment among his subjects".[28]

A grand ceremony was conducted at Anjengo to celebrate the ratification of the treaty. All the Officers of the state, the Rajah and the Dewan, went there and amidst great rejoicings proclaimed the advantages of the treaty.[29] The treaty which was hailed as a blessing to Travancore by the Dewan, virtually surrendered all real independence to the British.

During that period in Tinnevelly, a great social reform movement started because of the influence of Protestant Missionaries and many were converted.[30] Those converted to Christianity propagated that new faith in the adjacent areas. The news of this large-scale conversion spread to Travancore and some low class people were converted to Christianity. When the Hindus came to hear about this, they took it as a revolt against their established customs and practices. They persecuted and oppressed the new converts in various ways.

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25. Martni (Ed.), *Despatehes and Minutes and Correspondeuce of the Marquis of Wellesley*, Vol. IV., P.
26. T. K. Velu Pillai, *Vēlu Tampi Dalava*, pp. 56-57.
27. N. Balakrishnan Nair, *op- cit.*, p. 210.
28. National Archives, Foreign Political Consultations, 4th July 1808, No. 14.
29. T. K. Velu Pillai, *Vēlu Tampi Dalava*, p. 63.
30. The Rt. Rev. R. Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission, of the S. P. C. K., and S. P. G. F. P.* (Madras, 1881), pp. 55-60.

Ringletaube wrote in his journal – "They were frequently driven from their homes, put in the stocks, and exposed for a fortnight together to the heat of the raging sun, and the chilling dews of the night, all because there is no European Missionary to bring their complaints to the ear of Government, who I am happy to add, have never been deficient in their duty of procuring redress, where the Christians have had to complain of real injuries."[31] There upon the Rev. Kohlhoff, the Protestant Missionary at Tanjore, through the Collector of Tinnevelly represented the matter to the Rajah.[32] Macaulay, who was a sincere well-wisher of Christians, also took earnest measures to alleviate the sufferings of his co-religionists, in South Travancore. The native authorities showed great unwillingness to grant his request.[33] Col. Macaulay urged Mr. Pedro Da Veigas, who acted as Sircar Agent, that "the vexatious impediments practised at the Cania Comary Gate on Christians passing backwards and forwards might be removed."[34] He repeatedly requested the Government, for the removal of those unjust practices, but they delayed redress. It was at this time that the political troubles from 1803 to 1806 distracted his attention from religious problems.

Mr. William Tobias Ringletaube, a Missionary of the London Missionary Society arrived in Travancore, to work for the amelioration of the sufferings of the new converts to Christianity, and to propagate the Gospel. With the recommendation of Col. Macaulay, Ringletaube met the Dalava at Quilon and requested the redressal of the grievances of the Christian converts of South Travancore, and for permission to build a church at Mylaudy. The Dewan flatly denied his request on the ground that, it was an innovation on established customs.[35] Although Mr. Ringletaube was a little discouraged, he maintained full hopes in the firm promise given by the British Resident, that he would obtain the sanction for the erection of a Christian Church at Mylaudy.[36] In spite of the pressing demand of Col. Macaulay, permission to erect a church in South Travancore was refused on one pretext or another.[37] Ringletaube waited for one

31. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
32. C. M. Agur, *op. cit.* p. 481.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Indian Evangelical Review, No. XXV, p. 439.
36. C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 511-15.

year for permission to build a permanent Christian Church at Myaludy. At last he resolved to build a church at Karungulam, in British territory, on the Travancore frontiers.[38]

The Government of India at this time deputed the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, to visit the ancient Syrian Churches of Travancore, and report upon their condition, and suggest measures for improvement, and also to enquire and report on the general state of christianity in this coast.[39] At the end of October 1806, he reached Trivandrum, and was the guest of the Rajah for a week at his place.[40] Observing that the Rajah was young and surrounded by selfish officers, he boldly entreated his host to afford better protection and to show better interest in his Christian subjects.[41] He also reminded the Rajah, of his promised sanction for the erection of a church at Mylaudy, still unjustly denied to Ringletaube. He requested the Rajah to grant the permission speedily, and asked him whether he had ever heard of any people who were not allowed to worship their God. The Rajah promised him that his request will be granted and he himself will select the spot to be given, in a few weeks, when he will go to Śucīndram.[42] However the sanction was not given.

Various political, social, and religious causes accounted for the refusal of permission to erect a Christian Church at Mylaudy. The conversion of lower-classes of people to Christianity to escape from social injustice, or secure social status, spurned and neglected by the caste-proud Brahmanical Hindu Society, seemed to them, a revolt against the existing system, especially against Hinduism, which they believed 'it was their duty to resist'. They also feared that, by

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38. *Ibid.* p. 519.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 513.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 514.
41. *Ibid.*
42. In a letter to a friend on the 3rd of November, Buchanan wrote, "At Trivandrum I stayed five days with the Maharajah. I asked him for a piece of ground to erect a Christian Church at Mylaudy. He not only promised that my request will be granted, but also said that in a few weeks he goes to Soochundram, when he will select the spot to be given. If I hear from him on the subject, I shall at once inform Mr. Ringletaube". This friend at Anjengo forwarded the letter to Ringletaube, who greatly rejoiced that his prayers were heard and that his hopes would soon be realised. 'Soochundram (Śucīndram) is famous for it's temple. *Ibid*, p. 514.

constructing churches, promoting Christian social ideas, and encouraging education, the British were attempting to transform this land into a Christian land. These caste-proud people took it as an insult, the ending of the political inferiority of the lowcaste people, and the abolition of ūḷiam services and temple services. At that time news spread from Tinnevelly to Travancore that, the Christians refused to pay their taxes, when the officials were sent to apprehend the defaulters, the Christians beat them, and the Christian preachers themselves encouraged them in all this.[43] Above all, the visits of Mr. Kerr, Dr. Buchanan, and Ringletaube, with the help of Macaulay, spread alarm in the minds of Hindus. So in the eyes of the Travancore Sircar, a Christian is a revolutionary, who does not obey the Travancore Government, but obeys only the British, who goes always to his assistance.

Col. Macaulay felt that he was insulted by Vēlu Tampi and the Rajah by with-holding permission for the erection of the proposed church at Mylaudy. He had never expected such a behaviour from a close friend and official of his, whom he had favoured in many ways. He was biding his time. The rupture between the two, that led to the rebellion of 1809, started with this, and reached its climax when Vēlu Tampi demanded the arrears of taxes from a Christian, Māttū Tarakan.

The Dewan demanded large sums from Mattū Tarakan, who was insulted previously in 1799 by cutting off his ears, and putting him in stocks, for arrears of revenue, and orders were given to confiscate his property.[44] He represented the matter to the Resident, by emphasising that, all this was due to the fact that he was a Christian. The Resident immediately wrote to the Dewan that, "his conduct was dictated by a spirit of the basest treachery and tyranny......! He emphasised the point that it was the duty of the Government to collect the taxes at the appropriate time. For not collecting the taxes Tarakan was not responsible." He concluded with a warning. "...... I will not allow you from motives of base enmity to crush any man if I can possibly and honourably prevent it."[45] The Dewan quest-

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43. R. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
44. It has been said that, a pair of ears, made of gold was given to him by the Maharajah, to remove this insult after the incident, M. O. Joseph, *Māttū Tarakan*, p. 39.
45. T. K. Velu Pillai, *Vēlu Tampi Dalava*, p. 66.

ioned the authority of the Resident for interfering in the internal affairs of Travancore. Macaulay who was overbearing and tactless, became angry.[46] This led to an open rupture, and the Resident decided to insist on the dismissal of the Dewan.

After this incident the Resident decided to oppress the Dewan by various means. He pressed him for the payment of the arrears of subsidy, which the Resident believed, the Travancore Government was not in a position to pay. Now the Rajah through the influence of Vēlu Tampi, wrote to the Madras Government for the recall of the Resident, but without success[47] Matters took a serious turn, when the Resident repeatedly demanded the immediate payment of all arrears. In 1808 compelled by him, the Rajah cleared a part of the arrears by borrowing money, and pledging jewels, to Sahukars. The Rajah wrote to the Governor, "I am so harrassed and molested both by Sahukars and by Col. Macaulay, that my food and my sleep are embittered to me."[48] The Resident was not satisfied with the partial payment of the arrears of subsidy.

Being a man, strong-willed, arrogant, and headstrong, Vēlu Tampi set himself to accomplish the murder of the Resident, whom he hated as the scourge of this country, and his own avowed and inexorable foe.[49] He wrote letters to the Rajahs and Chiefs of neighbouring Kingdoms. indirectly specifying that, the important motive of the war was to prevent the spread of Christianity. In an important letter addressed to the Zamorin Rajah of Calicut he declared that, the chief cause for his plans aganist the English was his, "great apprehensions of the extention of Christian faith in Travancore."[50] He complained of the encouragement given by the English for the propagation of Christianity in Travancore.[51] This letter was handed over to the Collector of Malabar by the Zomorin's Minister, who transmitted it to the Governor of Madras.

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46. Arnold Wright (Ed.), *Southern India*, (London, 1914-15), p. 368.
47. V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 429-30.
48. Sec. Cons. 17th May 1808. No. 284.
49. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 429.
50. Thornton, *History of the British Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 124.
51. Sec. Cons. Jan. 1809, No. 318.

The negotiations of Vēlu Tampi with the Cochin Rajah, and his minister Pāliyatt Accan, started long ago, and this could be seen from letters sent by the Cochin Rajah, seeking his advice and help in their relations with the company.[52] Pāliyatt Accan, was very angry with Macaulay, for the offer of protection extended to one Kuññu-kṛṣṇa Mēnōn, who was a trusted favourite of the King, whom the Minister wanted to murder, and he made up his mind to destroy both the Resident and his protegee [53] He also agreed with the views of Vēlu Tampi in regard to religion. So both of them combined and determined upon the extirpatio n of Col. Macaulay, and his influence in the two states of Travancore and Cochin.[54] He wrote letters to the Chiefs of Tinnevelly and Marathas to help him, by organising in-surrections against the British. He had sent two emissaries to Mauritius, to solicit the help of the Fren ch, and a French force was expected to reach the Malabar Coast at the very beginning of the year 1809.[55] When three Armenians came to Trivandrum and talked with the Minister, the matter was confirmed, and the news was reported to the Madras Government by Macaulay.[56]

Vēlu Tampi toured the state extensively, to solicit the help of the various local chiefs, and large numbers of Nairs and Nadars were recruited and trained in the use of lances, bows and arrows.[57] By the end of 1808 he had succeeded in organising a force of more than 40,000.[58] He also succeeded in exciting a general ferment among the people, by appealing to their sense of patriotism, liberty, loyalty to the throne, and above all to their religion.

The ground was fully prepared for the war, when Vēlu Tampi murdered Stānapati Subbian, a devoted official of Macaulay, at Alleppey.[59] After the Purakkāḍ Incident, where many Europeans including Dr. Hume were put to death, the war became inevitable.

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52. Central Records Office, Trivandrum, Show Case Records, No. 105,
53. Nagam Aiya *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 432-33.
54, *Ibid.*, p. 433.
55. Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings Vol. XIX, 'A Note on Vēlu Tampi's Rebellion: by Dr. S. N. Sen.
56. N Balakrishnan Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 246-61.
57. Sec. Cons. 2nd Jan. 1809, No. 56.
58. When Vēlu Tampi talked with Col. Daly, he said that, he had under his control about one lakh and fifty thousand men. N. Balakrishnan Nair, *op.cit.*, p. 274.
59. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 429-30.

When all preparations were over, Vēlu Tampi and Pāliyatt Accan agreed to begin the rebellion on 29th December 1808 at Cochin. In the course of the rebellion Vēlu Tampi issued a Proclamation, dated 16th January 1809. (lst Makaram 984).

"......The English will......get low caste people to inflict heavy punishments for slight faults, put up crosses and Christian flags in Pagodas, compel intermarriages with Brahmin women, without reference to caste or creed, and practise all the unjust and unlawful things that characterise Kaliyuga......"[60] The proclamation spread rapidly, touched the political and religious feelings of the people, and the people rose against the British.

When the situation thus became tense, the Dewan commenced to perpetrate a series of atrocities against the Christians. According to C. M. Agur, nine priests and upwards of 3,000 Christians, men, women and children, were maimed, tortured and butchered, and thrown into the back- water.[61] The Cochin Dewan Pāliyatt Accan also wreaked his full vengeance on the poor Christians of Cochin, and Macaulay says that, his heart yearned, when he saw the bodies of thousands of Christians with hands and feet tied, floating in the sea.[62] The poor Christians at Mylaudy in the South were only saved, because they fled to the mountains and hid themselves.[63]

The war was a complete success to the British. The Travancore army was defeated in all fronts. The defection of the people of Nāñcināḍ, and Quilon helped the British a lot.[64] The desparate King consented to a treaty, according to the terms of which Ummiṇi Tampi was made Dewan.[65] Macaulay remained at Trivandrum threatening and coercing the Rajah, to effect the surrender of the Dewan.[66] Although Vēlu Tampi put an end to his life in a heroic manner on 28th March 1809 at Maṇṇadi, his body was brought to Trivandrum and exposed

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60. For a full text of the proclamation see Shungunny Menon, *History of Travancore* (Madras, 1878), pp. 339-43.
61. C. M. Agur, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, p. 537.
64. N. Balakrishnan Nair, *op. cit* , p. 325-26.
65. C. M. Agur, *op cit.*, p. 543.
66. Central Records Office, Trivandrum, Nīttūs, Vol. No. 4, p. 445.

on a gibbet with chains on, in a prominent place at Kaṇṇammūla. [67] Peace and order being restored, the English troops returned to their cantonments.

Vēdamāṇikkam, who concealed himself in forests, reported the matter to Ringletaube, who had escaped to Pāḷayamkōtta when the rebellion started, came back to Mylaudy, and proceeded to Quilon, where he met Col. Macaulay and once again applied for permission to build the first permanent Protestant church at Mylaudy, which was long denied to him. [68] The Rajah immediately granted him permission and in 1809 the foundation of the church was laid in Vēdamāṇikkam's ground by Ringletaube. [69] This marked a turning point in the religious history of Travancore, for, from that year, Christianity began to spread speedily and the local peoples in large numbers were converted.

Thus it is clear that, the underlying cause for the breach in the friendly relations between Vēlu Tampi and Col. Macaulay, which culminated in the revolt of 1809, was actually religious-the refusal of the Dalava to grant permission to construct a church at Mylaudy and convert people freely to Christianity.

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67. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 445.
68. C. M. Agur. *op. cit.*, p. 551.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 552.

Emblem of Arakkal House

(From a painting maintained in the Museum, Dept. of History, Calicut University.)

This emblem of 18th Century of the House of Arakkal represents the following ideas. The cluster of the rays and crescent represent the glory of Islam. The crescent is inscribed by the words from holy scripture. The head dress below the crescent is the symbol of the crown. The weapons like spears, muskets, sword, cannon and balls represent the royal authority and power. The balance is a symbol of justice. The book beneath it stands for the code of laws, especially the Shariyat. The mast and the anchors reveal the overseas relations of the dynasty. The hanging medals are ornamental designs but represent the rewards for meritorious service in this world as well as in the next.

A Letter from the Ottoman Emperor to the Bībi of Arakkal

BY

K. K. N. Kurup

The royal House of Arakkal or the principality of Āli Rājas of Cannanore was the only Muslim principality in Malabar. Though the origin of the House is shrouded in mystery some of the manuscripts in the Arakkal archives claim its connection to the last Cera emperor.[1] The 18th century Dutch records high-light its blood relation with another ruling principality, the Kōlattiris of North Malabar.[2] The grant of the Jagir of Laccadive Islands by the Kōlattiris to this House enhanced its status in maritime activities, especially its foreign trade with Arabia, Constantinople and other West Asian countries.[3]

The Ali Raja was mainly responsible for inviting Hyder Ali Khan of Mysore to invade the territories of Kōlattiris. He also supported the invader with his powerful fleet against the Kōlattiris. As he had supported the power of Mysore, the English recognised the Arakkal House as an enemy of the Company. In this circumstance, the Bībi sent her vizier's brother and one Hajee Ally Jasoss to Constantinople as envoys, requesting the assistance of the emperor against the atrocities of the English in Malabar.

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1. *Arakkal records*, A part of these unpublished manuscript records kept in the royal archives of Arakkal has been recently transferred to the Dept. of History, University of Calicut.
2. "He (Ali Raja) is of Pollastry extraction. For a certain princess of this dynasty on account of having had to do with a person of lower standing, had lost her caste or nobility, and in order to some extent to cover up the disgrace, she was given in wedlock to a rich Arabian Moor, on whom was conferred the title of Prince and the general name of Ady Raja, meaning in that country as much as head of the Moors of that Kingdom".
   A. Galletti, (trans) *The Dutch in Malabar*, (Madras, 1911) P. 147.
3. K. K. N. Kurup, "The Ali Rajas of Cannanore, English East India Company and Laccadive Islands". Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Jabalpur University, 1970. K. K. N. Kurup, "Sequestration of Laccadive Islands" Journal of Indian History (Trivandrum) Vol. L. Part 1. April 1972.

The English version of the Arabic letter from Sultan Abdul Hamid I, Ottoman emperor, to the Bībi of Arakkal, found in the Arakkal records reveals its frequent relations with the Ottoman empire.[4] The Ottoman emperor was the Imam of the believers, and the Khalifah of those professing the unity of God.[5] As he was the "sovereign Caliph of the Mahomedan religion" the Arakkal principality also showed its religious allegiance towards the emperor by sending diplomatic envoys.

The ruler of the House was revered by the emperor as "Beebi Sultan, the Queen of Malabar" though she had her political authority over a small territory around Cannanore in Malabar. The system of succession sanctioned by Shariat is patrilenial. But this principality was following the matrilineal succession which was sanctioned by the Caliph as the 'Custom of the country'. (6) The request of the Bībi Sultan, to the emperor for placating the English who were giving much troubles in her country was accepted by him. This request for the "powerful assistance" of the emperor was based on religious considerations. The emperor being the religious head of the Islamic world intervened in this aggression of an Islamic state by a non-Muslim power.

Through the English Ambassador at Constantinople, he made a request to the king of England to instruct the Company's authorities in India to treat the Arakkal House with generosity. The emperor's letter to the Bībi stated, "It was requested of the king of England that orders aught to be forwarded to the authorities in India directing to treat you favourably". The Ambassador being satisfied, pledged his word of promise and the envoys returned to Malabar. Following the treaty of Mangalore which ended the second Mysore war, peace was restored to the Arakkal House also, by the English.

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4. *Arakkal Records*, Letter book (year missing). The English translation of the Arabic letter from the Sultan of Constantinople dated 1 Shavvāl 1194 (A. H.) to the Bībi of Arakkal is reproduced herewith. The Christian era corresponds to that of A. D. 1780 or 81.
5. Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, revised edition (London, 1965) P 165.
6. In the House of Arakkal, the eldest member of the family in the line of the mother succeeded to the throne irrespective of the sex. But in the other Hindu principalities, only the eldest male member in the line of the mother succeeded to the throne.

As the Arakkal Principality had requested the 'powerful assistance' of the Ottoman emperor in its days of distress, it proves that there must have been diplomatic relations between this House and Ottoman empire. The treaty of Seringapatam which ended the third Mysore war, brought the entire territory of Malabar under the authority of the English. After that the Arakkal House also lost its political power along with other native chieftains and remained as a land-holder in Malabar.

Translation of an Arabic letter forwarded from the Emperor of Constantinople to the Queen Bebee of Cannanore

In the name of the most-merciful God

Praise be to the Almighty, who made us an asylum to the kings of the earth, defender of the laws of his chosen prophet by whom he proclaimed the title of monarchy by this verse of the Qurān, "Innā jaálnākka Khalīfattan fil Arzi" and spread the shadow of our justice over the world from latitude to longitude.

May the blessing of God be upon his chosen friend who has been created for dispensing mercy to the universe as well as on his descendants and companions who have illumined the surface of the world by the splendour of their swords and removed there-from the darkness of paganism.

We commence this our condescending letter with royal compliments showing kindness and courtesy towards one who has covered herself with the sheet of modesty, who is adorned with the ornaments of truth and justice, venerated in pedegree, viz Bebee Sultan the Queen of Malabar May God preserve her in her country to defend the pillars of faith and Islamism.

When the almighty opened the doors of our kingdom on the face of Moslems, and turned the blackness of the shadow of our victorious colours condensed into frightful clouds upon the heads of the infidels, it became incumbent upon us to protect Mahomedanism, and take care of the Muslems who are for of from, us, and escort our utmost power of the face of the earth for the tranquillity of the people who may be submissive to us or opposed to our rule. We have received your letter from your two Envoys who have surpassed

their, Predecessors in all respects, and venerated amongst their contemporaries viz Sheik Aboo Bakur, the brother of your Vizier, and the second his companion, Hajee Ally Jasoss honoured and revered by us opened it and it imparted to us the knowledge of the demise of your uncle the Sultan of Malabar viz Ally Rajah who was steady in the way of god-may god preserve him in paradise–and of your having succeeded him according to the custom of your country by the cooperation of the inhabitants thereof and of your courtesy towards our delightful threshold and requesting our powerful assistance for yourself as well as for your subjects through our kindness and civility. Accordingly we informed, consul, the English Ambassador, who is present in the capital, of your being regarded and revered by us and the necessity of our assisting yourself and your subjects, in consequence of which it was requested of the king of England that orders aught be forwarded to the authorities in India directing them to treat you favourably. The said Ambassador, being satisfied, pledged his word of promise, and the aforesaid envoys being favourably received by us, have started hence by our permission. I conclude this letter with reverence for yourself amongst your friends and shall never fail to protect Mahomedans either by word or deed as far as possible.

Dated the 1st Shaival 1194
Mahomedan Era
Constantinople.

Patterns of Disposing off the Dead in Kerala*

BY

M. E. MANICKAVASAGOM PILLAI

The purpose of this paper is to describe the patterns of disposing off the dead, as has been prevalent in Kerala from the dawn of her cultural history, and stratify them with a note on the nature of the drift that has occurred. This study is based on a corpus, consisting of literary and archaeological evidences and field work. A sample survey conducted at random in three areas, viz. Changanachery, Trichur and Wynad in Kerala, among the members of forty different communities forms the field survey data. Of the communities twenty-eight are from the plains and the rest from the hills of Wynad.

Kroeber mentions the following methods of disposing off the dead "Human cultures have devised a great variety of methods: burial, cremation, water burial, setting away in vaults or canoes or houses, scaffold burial, exposure, or simple abandonment etc."[1] Of these, burial and cremation are the generally prevailing patterns in Kerala.

It has to be noticed that only very limited evidences are available about the ancient practices regarding the disposal of the dead in Kerala. Literary and archaeological evidences throw some light on the subject. The *Sangham* literature comprising the *eṭṭuttōkai* and *pattuppāṭṭu* is the earliest available literary works in Tamil. Some of these verses describe the social, political and economic conditions that prevailed in Kerala which is known as the land of the Cheras in Tamil literature. A few of such verses reveal the existence of both burial and cremation. Archaeology also helps us to know the prehistoric pattern of disposing off the dead. In several places in Kerala, burial urns and cist burial sites have been unearthed. *Ari-*

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*This is a revised version of the paper presented to the Anthropological Section of the Seminar on History and Epigraphy, Madurai, January ,1970.

1. Kroeber, A. L. *Anthropology*, pp. 401-2 (New York, 1948)

kanniyūr near Trichur, is an important place where ancient burial sites are found.

The accepted hypothesis is that in almost all human cultures, the ancient pattern of disposing off the dead was burial. The *Sangham* classics contain references to burial and cremation. Burial was done in burial urns. A Chera monarch of the period was given an urn burial.[2] Burning the dead body in a bed of funeral pyre is also mentioned in the classics.[3] Another practice mentioned in the classics was to cover the dead body with leaves and stones.[4] But this was done only in out of the way places. Thus, it can be seen that burial was the predominant pattern of disposing off the dead during the ancient phase of Kerala's cultural history. It can be further remarked that the Chera monarch was probably given an urn burial in accordance with the widely prevailing practice among the people. Burial and cremation are the two patterns that are practised in modern Kerala. Of the forty communities considered in this analysis, some communities strictly follow the burial pattern, while a few others follow both burial and cremation. Majority of them strictly adopt cremation. An isolated community is adopting a particular type of burial called *'nRivRitakalpa Samādhi!*[5] The votaries of this community (*Pishāraṭi*) believe that they are re-converts to the Hindu faith from Buddhism, during the time of *Sankaracharya*. Still, they are following the same pattern of *nRivRitikalpa Samādhi*, which they followed when they were Buddhists. Of the rest, eighteen communities including eleven tribes of Wynad, adopt the simplest form of burial. Others adopt cremation with its circuitous rituals. Thus it can be seen that cremation is the predominant pattern in modern Kerala. Twenty-one communities in our sample survey are adopting cremation. Besides a few more communities among those who adopt burial as their pattern of disposing off the dead, are also practising cremation in addition to burial.

From the foregoing analysis, we learn of a drift from burial towards cremation in the modern phase of Kerala's cultural history.

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2. *Patiṟṟuppattu*, 44: 21-23
3. *Puranānūru*, 231: 1-2
4. *Akanānūru*
5. In this form of samādhi, the deceased is interned in the seated posture, as is the case with the Buddhists

How can this drift be explained? Kroeber is of the opinion that "One can feel vigorously and yet have this feelings changed. This is true also of cultures. Disposal of the dead is a case in point".[6] So a drift from one pattern to the other can take place without a change in the general trends in culture. Kroeber accepts this when he cites the characteristic behaviour of the western culture which is in the midst of a drift towards cremation.[7] A closer analysis of the two patterns reveals the following facts. Burial is simple in its procedure and the cost incurred is comparatively less. The dead body is bathed and covered with a cloth. Then it is wrapped in a mat and buried in a pit. This is the simplest form of disposing off the dead, in most of the communities which adopt this pattern. A second type of burial is called *samādhi*. This is expensive and less frequent in occurrence. So this type can safely be left out of our general analysis.

In contrast to the burial pattern, cremation is more expensive and is accompanied by circuitous rituals. Burial is usually over within a day. But cremation is not so simple. Even on the day of cremation, the cost incurred will be more than what is needed for burial. Usually on the third, fifth or the seventh day after cremation, the remains of the cremated body are collected for immersion in holy waters. In the case of some well-to-do people, this ceremony will last for a year. Some others conduct this function on the 41st day. It all depends on the individual's capacity to keep the remains for a long period.

Besides this, there are a few more rituals to be observed in the case of the cremation complex. The person who performs the last rites, is expected to perform certain rituals upto the sixteenth day. It is considered that pollution *pula* exists during that period. On the sixteenth day, the ceremony called *pulakuli* is performed. On this occasion, a grand feast is served to the relatives and friends. All these are expensive. Some of those rituals are adopted even by those who follow the burial pattern. In the latter case, such rituals will be simple and less expensive.

It has already been remarked that in some communities both the patterns exist. These anomalies can be explained only by bring-

6. Kroeber, *Anthropology* pp. 401-2
7. *Ibid*

ing the economic aspect into our analysis. In the case of some communities, members who are economically prosperous are adopting cremation as the method of disposing off the dead. Among the *Pathiyar*, a tribe living near *Sultān Buttēry* in Wynad, burial is the usual method of disposing off the dead. But they cremate those who die at an age above sixty. Communities like *Vātti*, *Pulļuvar Vēlan* etc. in the plains adopt both the patterns. Only those who are economically prosperous follow the cremation pattern.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, we can arrive at the following conclusions. Burial might have been the predominant pattern of disposing off the dead in the ancient phase of Kerala's cultural history, though cremation might also have existed side by side. Literary and archaeological evidences support this view. Now the predominant pattern is cremation. Twenty-one of the forty communities analysed in this study adopt the cremation complex. In this context, it has to be remembered that twelve out of the ninteen communities who follow the burial pattern are hill-tribes. So the hypothesis is that cremation is the predominant pattern, is perhaps a '*Near Accurate*' thesis. If so, why has such a drift taken place ?

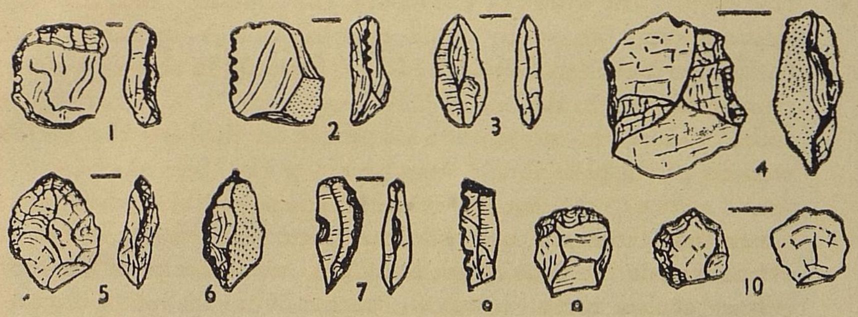
The present author is limited by certain factors in arriving at a comprehensive account of the causes that have motivated this drift. In the first place, only forty communities are studied and the scope of field work is limited to three areas. Secondly, all the aspects of the culture are not analysed comprehensively. However he has gathered the following details from his informants. Those who adopt burial, adopt it because it is simple and less expensive. So it may be supposed that economic prosperity has been the cause for this drift. In Support of this hypothesis, the practice of adopting cremation by a few well-to-do people among those who adopt the burial pattern can be cited.

Socially, the communities are stratified into higher and lower classes. The communities supposed to be in the lower rungs of the social order invariably adopt burial as the pattern of disposing off the dead. Majority of the communities belonging to the higher rungs follow the cremation pattern. Therefore a second hypothesis can be posited on the basis of this sociological phenomenon. Cultural contact between the communities of the so-called higher strata and the

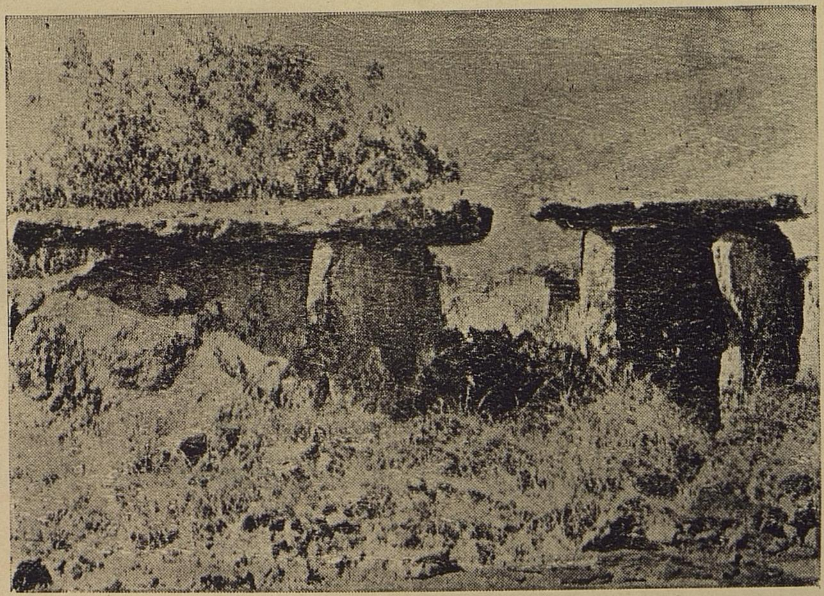
Nambudiris might have induced a drift towards cremation. The *Nambudiris* are considered as the Aryan settlers of the area.

A third hypothesis is that the drift towards cremation is the result of the want of space for burial. The increase in population and the extension of the area of land used for cultivation, reduced the space available for burial. So, people were compelled to cremate their dead. This point can be illustrated by the behaviour patterns of two of the Wynad tribes. Among *Taccanāṭan Mūppan*, (a nomadic tribe until recently), burial is the pattern of disposing off the dead. *Pathiyar* is another tribe settled down in Wynad and wedded to agriculture. This tribe is now in the midst of a drift towards cremation.

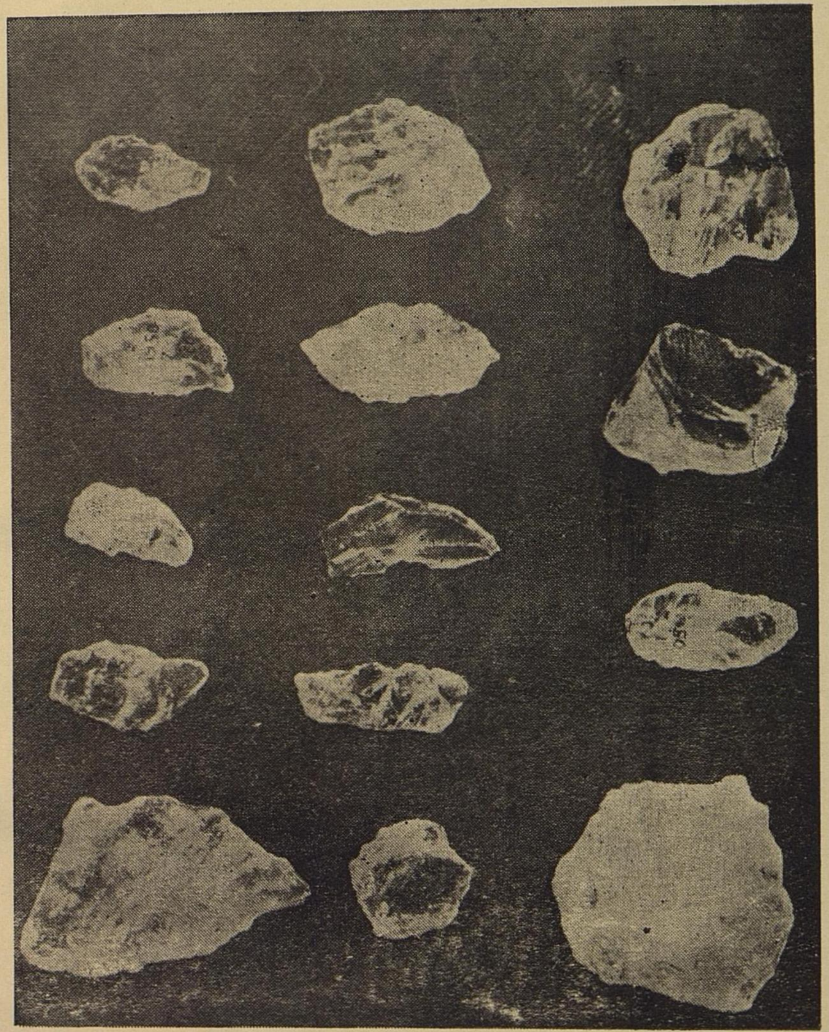
In concluding this paper, the author feels that some of the hypotheses posited in this study need further confirmation in the light of more intensive investigations. It is hoped that investigations in this direction may throw more light on the various aspects that have induced this drift towards cremation.



Microlithic Industry of Calicut
(With courtsey Dr. B. Allchin)



Dolmens of Anjanad valley, Kerala



Microliths from Chevayur, Calicut
(With courtsey to British Museum)

Kerala Culture: Agenda for Social Research

BY

DR. B. N. NAIR

The analysis of Kerala society on the cultural level is a fascinating, albeit a demanding, field of social research. The nature of Kerala culture has been understood as a distinct form of social life, differing, at any rate, from the culture of the rest of India, in several matters, although anthropological investigations in recent decades have, wellnigh, succeeded in establishing its substantial linkages with many other regions of India. Social and cultural anthropology trace the origin of medieval Kerala culture to the larger complex of a matrilineal civilization that prevailed in the West Coast of India and other regions near and far. During historical times it is seen to be the product of the interactions of races, religions, and languages that supplied Kerala society with a common style of thought, pressure and a fellowship of thought and collective mood that gave rise to stereotypes. This state further conditioned individual personalities and reactions in situational contexts in an unique manner. The plural society of Kerala, nevertheless, embraces modes of thought and behaviour patterns stemming from diverse sources that legated them to successive generations through a process of 'communicative interaction', that is to say, by symbolic transmission rather than by genetic inheritance. The style of Kerala thought, speech, gestures and reactions are therefore culturally determined rather than hereditarily determined. The content of Kerala culture *ipso facto* continues to be communalized and syncretic with the fusion of elements of art, music, architecture, rudimentary technology, religion and philosophy, all of which undoubtedly spring from heterogeneous sources. The organic quality of cultural growth in Kerala wherever observed, is in tune with the ecosystem of its natural environment. It is the cohesiveness resulting from this communicative interaction that eventually prepared the ground for the absorption of radical political ideologies and the prevalence of an intense political consciousness that is grounded on common feelings of economic deprivation. Of late, social research has attempted to discover this whole. An analysis of the political culture' of Kerala will involve the tracing of socio-economic

and political institutions of the land to their historical roots. The writing of Kerala history was capable of producing inner vulnerabilities and souring the larger community view of the past. Hence historical research on Kerala with a few exceptions has relapsed into a mood of sullen inactivity and lack of critical social interest. Historicism that viewed Kerala history as embodying the theoretical basis of all sociological activity and giving the direction of social advance never developed in Kerala academics nor outside. Incipient scientism from the thirtees monopolised all attention to itself.

Racial Mixture

Kerala society has always been a racial mosaic. The Polynesian and Melanesian immigrants mixed with proto-australoid settlers in a primitive foodgathering economy during ancient times. The hybridised decendants of these elements had always been neglected and relegated to the background until they made their mark in market-oriented occupations in recent decades without any hangover from the past glories. Economic rationality is therefore shared by them on similar lines to certain other communities elsewhere in the world The Mahabali tradition overcome by the Paraśurāma tradition yielded place to a diluted form of Brahmanical culture which was embraced by the settlers of Tamilian extraction and the Nāyar militia and their chieftains in a spirit of emulative and dependent empathy rather than as a process of sanskritisation and outlandish virtuosity. There has been the fusion between the two at various historical periods as the powerful Tamilian traditions had seeped into Kerala in a steady fashion under various circumstances of Tamilian political dominance and also through cultural contacts. Kerala, however, retained its identity in language and culture through a process of social evolution fostered by its physical configurations and ecology while the biological resurgence and ethos of a hybridised community rendered it militant and exclusive to a higher degree than what Tamilian expansionistic activities could cope with. The territorial proximity for a community life for diverse racial elements was manifestly afforded by a coastal strip of the south-west coast where the land with its rich vegetation provided effortless sustenance to a 'chance-aggregate' of diverse racial elements. External cultural influences and threats had combined to nurture feudal chieftains and their militia while the cultural penetration of the Brahminical influences resulted in stratifications of the caste pattern and the softening

of the martial spirit. Besides, Brahminical religion based on conceptual caste gradations depicted in *Kēralōlpathi* had already become the largest social enterprise amidst an agricultural community using crude technology. If a historical reconstruction of community life is attempted with the interrelated criteria of the size of the population, the extent of wealth and populousness of the hinterland, the specialised functions of the community within the whole society and the kind of organisation the community had put up for self-regulation and social control, Kerala society might be considered to have, nevertheless, retained its loosely aggregate character without any organised body of insight or ardent religious practices until the early decades of the present century. The distinctive pattern of Kerala villages, the origin of matrilineal kinship, production and distributive patterns did not reflect any organic corporateness except in theory. It was pluralistic and divisive in character then as well as now. The inherent divisiveness continues and there is no clear distinction between rural and urban societies. Folkways and folk culture survived on the surface all along. Hence, social science research at the intellectual superstructure continues to reflect the inter-perception of communities, not unmixed with their traditional attitudes and social distances that project themselves obtrusively on the surface even in scholarly studies. Community studies of this type are apt to promote sociological disenchantment and sometimes acrimony amongst scholars. The unbiased output of social studies in Kerala is, perhaps, a remote possibility even with the adoption of scientific methodologies since elitism of any sort is basically anathema to the Malayali mind. This should engage the attention of all intellectuals in Kerala.

There is no place for racialism or elitism of the ethnic variety of any kind in Kerala society today that traces its roots to a cultural dominance of the feudal past. Let us recall to mind again that we are concerned with the *historical man* and not the *genetic man* in Kerala anthropology. All communities have over a period of centuries, been subjected to hybridisation and miscegenation and, therefore, ethnocentrism is strictly speaking, a latter-day phenomenon resulting from the pressures of economic forces and the inequitous distributive patterns of the wealth of certain communities. It is spurious in nature and cannot be defended under any scientific pretexts. Land having been highly inelastic for productive operations, then as well as now, ownership of land under theocratic pretexts and by wanton conquests and disposession by force and litigation have conspired to

elevate the status of the landholder and 'the owner of the large house'. The Malayalam word 'Tampuran' is derived from the Melanesian /Malagasy *Tompon-trano*, the Lord of the House. First came the house, the unmistakable symbol of settled agricultural life, next the feudal militia. then rivalries and conquest, the creation of petty principalities, their aggregation into a larger kingdom and in recent historical times domination by external powers since the Vasco Da Gama epoch, culminating in British overlordship. To the cultural anthropologist the pattern is familiar and he sees parallels of this structural functionalism in other parts of the world.

Religion

Animism, Megalithism, orgiastic cults of the phallus, worship of the Mother-Goddess and ancestors, witchcraft, Oḍi cult and sorcery successively embraced by the decadent Mahāyāna-Buddhism through cults of Vajrāyana and Brahminical pantheon received their biggest jolt with the advent of Christianity that was ushered in firstly in driblets of immigrants and later on, in the expansive and many faceted activities of Christian missionaries of several denominations. And in regard to Mahāyāna-Buddhism, let us remember that it adapted itself to every civilization it encountered and its religious thread was very weak at all times. The 19th century witnessed proselytizations of a wide coverage because Christianity save, of course, the enlightened Syrian Christian community, well-nigh became a political religion buttressed by the British conquest. Conversion to Christianity had, palpably, become a boon to the communities in the periphery of caste-structure bereft of organised and institutional worship modes. Delayed temple entry was not a substitute for Christian compassion, congregational fellowship and educational activities. And yet, if there are signs of their *retroversion* to Hinduism it is ascribable unmistakably to the dynamic values implicit in Kerala life and their reassurance about the possibilities of leading life with self-respect and dignity under altered circumstances. The Islamic impact of earliest times on the coastal regions and Christianity had one common characteristic in Kerala. They both ran counter to the matrilineal customs of matrimony and inheritance. In regard to Christianity which refused to create a sacral civilization, there was only matrimony that was sacral to it. The indissolubility of monogamous matrimony was a moral postulate. This was the reason why Portuguese, Dutch and Danish missionaries

of 15th to 18th centuries berated the Malabar society in no uncertain terms forgetting the social conditions of the Iberian peninsula and had, under these circumstances, affected orthodox Christian outlook towards it for all time to come. When Tipu Sultan stooped to conquer Malabar, he too had some wholesome, if gratuitous, advice to give to the Nayars and win them over to Islam with what degree of moral elevation in store, one does not know. However, it was Christianity that brought about the abolition of agrestic serfdom and slavery of Cherumans in Kerala and also paved the way for blood-feuds and private justice being replaced with public justice in a court of law and gave meaning to the functions of administration in the former States of Travancore & Cochin. The impact of Christianity and Islam on Kerala life thus require a revaluation.

The survival of matrilineal communities was, in many respects, assured during recent centuries only through the absorption of Brahmanical culture but it had to voluntarily pay the price of selective entry of the cultured Brahmin Nambūdiri into the matrilineal household as the divine progenitor. Chicanery and subterfuge were suspected in this situation only in recent times when the sons of menials and temple servants coveted this privilege. Degeneration of the social fabric did not leave any choice in the matter and hypergamy could not continue on the basis of qualitative genetic or economic types of cultural fertilisation. Caste hierarchies further operated to the detriment of cohesion. Whether this resulted in the improvement of racial ethos of certain communities or their emasculation is a matter for research. While the gains were euologized with social approval, misfires were ridiculed as resulting in no material gain to the matrilocal family, particularly the poorer sections. This is the source of the so-called Freudian parricidal instinct of Nayars. The interactions of religions in Kerala did not give rise to religious conflicts due to the accommodating character and eclectism of Kerala society which reflected its tolerance born of the *chance-aggregate* nature of its origin. Happily, this spirit of the open system has persisted even today. The pontifical seats of incoming religious influences were fortunately far away and religious revivals of the hoary Sankaracharya tradition of the ninth century probably led only to the gradual attrition of certain distinctive customs and the frenzied spoliation of monuments of Buddhistic significance in their externalities but certainly not the intrinsic thought processes engendered by Mahāyāna cults. The religiosity of subsequent decades was confined

to scattered groups of families in quasi-nucleated villages with a temple-centric life fostered by both the settled and vagrant members of the priestly class of Kerala assisted by those of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Matrilineal kinship was notably neutral about the role of religion in popular culture so that social equilibrium was seldom disturbed by schisms, concerted persecutions or by intolerant expressions of violent popular disfavour. Minor aberrations on grounds of the improvement of the material standards of Christian converts were corrected by the mere show of the British cudgel. Conflicts and cohesion were both on the surface and the lusty monsoon breeze of the Indian Ocean, literally, swept the Kerala coastal strip of all vestiges of religious acrimony and racial strife. The plural society thus survived all standard cultural patterning of an artificial kind and liberated itself, at least, partially, from the clutches of established institutions of religious orthodoxy that flourished on its agricultural surplus. Free food and social prestige had afforded scope for erotic hedonism and irresponsible notions of parenthood. The values were different then. The religious background of Kerala social life hardly affords scope for revivalist Hindu, Christian or Islamic movements or the exaggerated varieties of Sanskritisation camouflaged as rational social development on patrilineal lines.

Language

The pre-literate community of Kerala with a mixture of proto-Dravidian speech forms closely akin to pre-Tholkappiam Tamil could not have remained uninfluenced by Melanesian and Polynesian speech forms of sea-faring communities e. g. Mukkuvar, Arayans, Vālans, etc. that were inducted into Kerala social life during very ancient epochs of Kerala pre-history. These earliest speech forms have had evidently a wider spread than what we are prepared to concede with our present limited knowledge of linguistic anthropology. The spread of matrilineal culture with linguistic influences westward across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar is not commonly known. Let us admit, however, that language gives no clue to the racial origin and this is true of Kerala as well. The phenomenal growth of the Malayalam language has submerged speech forms, vocables and expressions bearing traces of ancient cultural elements. The interaction of languages in Kerala has proceeded on imperceptible lines and lent itself to the reification of thought models, symbols and

concepts of Sanskritic culture during later centuries. Little traditions have merged with greater traditions and micro-scale societies have submerged through a process of social mobility and mobilization into macro-scale societies with their corresponding changes in their frames of reference. This is an area for ethno-linguistics.

Present- day Malayalam has a veritable architectural integration and it may be stated without fear of contradiction that language as a medium of communication has more than anything else moulded Malayali personality with its unique stamp. Western education through English language under royal patronage in Travancore and Cochin westernised the leading communities and started a secular counterprocess to ritualistic Sanskritisation on the linguistic plane. Excessive alienation from the cultural and social realities of Kerala society, however, was prevented by literary movements reflecting the native genius for imagery and poetic talents. The sociology of Malayalam literature today embodies the strands of influences exerted on the individual minds of Malayali writers by the stages of social evolution, linguistic and cultural integration and, above all the economic conditions of the enlarged society, its occupational ideologies, hopes, fears and anxieties. Plural societies, it is said, are haunted by political integration and they subconsciously desire to remain pluralistic. Could this be true of Kerala where the political developments betray this underlying sentiment repeatedly seen in election results? Again, in parenthesis, could such a society conceivably mirror itself in a social club anywise differently than in terms of its pristine characteristics, particularly when the club is situated in New Delhi with its palpably bureaucratic ambiance and status gradations based on economic strength? This is an interesting area for social inquiry. Religious forces with its internal content of ideas and practices far from splintering the growth of popular culture supplied the psychological preparedness for the eventual cementing force of secularism, eclectism and humanism although these were subsequent abstractions of social theory. Neither racial differences nor religion tended to divide the populace on the linguistic plane as a distinctly evolved language became the hallmark of a distinct political culture and the undeniable plank for the claims of statehood during the Twentieth century. High literacy and the sluice valves opened through English education fertilised minds with high-powered ideas that sought their expression through the modern Malayalam language which is the vehicle of the social thought of all communities, high and low, and

continues to supply a fundemental sensitivity to its literature. The change in the form and content of Malayalam more than anything else has accelerated socio-economic change as well as transformed Kerala culture in its broad contours of the present day. This again has parallels in many other parts of the world at different epochs of history.

Social Research on Kerala

Research on Kerala life has long been scientifically oriented to subserve the exploitative needs of economic development of the rest of the country rather than to meet its rational and local needs. It had an attraction all its own for observant and not too disinterested scholars from outside It was, therefore, invested with a pragmatic character since several decades past, thanks largely to the farsightedness of certain administrators. The drain of Kerala's wealth including a substantial 'brain-drain' to nearby States has gone unaccounted for and the economic exploitation of centuries has seldom received attention from even some of our radically-minded scholars. It is a truism that most advanced plural societies became prone to a process-haunted mind and scientism largely to overcome its internal divisiveness characteristic of them on the social sphere. Perhaps, this is its only salvation as it steers clear of the baneful impact of a compartmentalized communal outlook in matters of general welfare and cultural advancement. However, unsatisfactory distributive patterns soon nullify this wholesome general bent of mind and vitiate scientism with narrow social anthropological considerations. Indeed, social science research was unknown until recently and it is not multi-disciplinary even at this stage because it involves an interpersonal synergistic effort that is opposed to ego-centrism and exalted self-images of amateurs. Hence, it is put down as inconvenient and impractical. With the attainment of statehood and the inflow of all-India influences in diverse spheres, Kerala has been drawn into the larger configuration of national activities for economic development. And yet, in the total process of inputs and outputs and of the terms of trade of the sociosphere Kerala's assets are on the debit side. Smallness of the state and considerations such as its limited resources, demographic problems, poor industrialization, high literacy and unemployment, lop-sided agrarian structure and above all its ideological divisiveness have rendered scientific research on Kerala largely contingent on the necessities of All-India economic development. It could not, therefore, become sufficiently inward-looking and

environmental as the pressure has always been to look beyond. Besides, distance always lent great charm to the Malayali mind. Let us remember the seamen, nurses, clerks and officials migrating to other parts of India every year to be convinced of this.

Social science research in Kerala has always been considered newfangled and its acceptance inhibited by community orientations and self-images notwithstanding the healthy tenor supplied by the continuance of open systems of life. Votaries of sociology and anthropology have been few and far between and as on date, there is no Faculty of Anthropology in the Kerala Universities. Loftiness of mind displayed in the past was perhaps the escapist device from the rigours of social analysis and its melancholy and disconcerting findings. Writing State-manuals was an easier task. The creation of a full-fledged Faculty for economics was for long delayed due to the fact that Kerala's educational institutions were for long ineffective appendages to the Madras University. Sociology was too newfangled a discipline for Keralites to have owned it as there was a surfeit of the raw-material all-round. In such a setting coupled with the absence of even traces of industrialisation, teachers of economics themselves who had studied in London could not have been understandably too eloquent about the Keynesian economics. It simply did not fit into the thought structure of the students conditioned by too simple an environment. Meanwhile, there has long been only a permissive sprouting of talent in the Natural and physical sciences in Kerala and no efflorescence was either encouraged or witnessed in any field except as a symptom of irrepressible individual dynamism.

Kerala society continued to retain the interest of outsiders. Matrilineal customs and institutions have all along been scoffed at and certain scholarly treatises by gullible U. S. scholars and those in Western Europe still speak of polyandry and *marumakkattayam* as widely prevalent in Kerala. Criticism of this variety is not meant to be a plea or recitation in favour of antiquated customs. However, let us not be awed or repelled by it. Malayalis settled abroad somewhat *depayses* and capable of detatched amusement, sometimes, deride past customs and practices by putting on boards skits and plays. Is this effrontery a sign of the lack of historical-mindedness or of depravity of outlook, one might ask? All these are partly due, in effect, to the specious kind of colonial sociology and anthropology indulged in by certain scholars of self-styled uppercastes whose ethnographical endeavours in collaboration with British functionalists

of the aristocratic background still command respect in the absence of anything better to quote or comment upon. Spirited defences put forward e.g. such as those by the late Sardar K.M. Panikkar on several issues, through sheer provocation, has yielded place to a sort of passive intellectual submissiveness and has also promoted several mercenary efforts to pander to the curiosity of foreign investigators. The image of Kerala faces the risk of being tarnished in this subtle process not a little in the name of sociological and anthropological investigations. The distinctiveness of Kerala society continues to mortify the operational strategists of all-India sphere and individual Keralites suffer not a little for want of identity or recognition through this predicament in all-India institutions. *Tant Pis.*

The national reassertion of Kerala image in the all-India spectrum does not assume the character of the need for ethnocentric or revivalist leverage at all levels of contact with external realities. It cannot depend on political representation alone through its elected representatives in the Houses of Parliament or through participation in All-India services. These, no doubt, count a great deal but the problem is to make the expanded ego of the Keralite imbued with pan India perspectives and ideologies deflate and serve the homely frames of reference or social purposes. They do not like to be branded as communal or as sharing a casteist outlook. Besides there is a palpable evasiveness about the nature and need of mutual help. Many escape this mental impasse by glorifying their family traditions and even expecting others in milieux two thousand miles away to look up to them on this account. The quest for status is pitiless, relentless and unending. The quest for ideology and reserve does not end in private clubs but to the privacy of the family house, the primordial psychological unit of society. It had meant so much of effort to start and run a school in New Delhi. Could it not have been worthwhile to have cooperative house building efforts as well? Where does the Keralite fit into the urban ecology of New Delhi or Bombay? These are the questions of the Seventies. The cultural personality of the Keralite saturated with pan-Indian traditions is apt to fight for national causes rather than for state causes. This kind of behaviourism is at once its strong merit as well as its weakness in the contemporary situations as it is so much unlike their counterpart in other States. This situation has its own deep sociological underpinnings. However, the function of restoring Kerala image is inexorably the work of prominent individuals, statesmen, scientists,

scholars of various disciplines and the combined effort of educational institutions. Kerala has had an open society for too long and its absorption in this state of mental unpreparedness into the larger regional society following economic regionalization policies is a distinct possibility of the future. And this is perhaps inherent in the total social fabric under the fast changing circumstances of Kerala today. Societies still at the clan or tribal stage cannot constitute a nation. Nationality can only appear after the total emancipation of the family and ethnicity. There is scope for research here in the Keralites settled in large cities and urban centres of India have to mirror if not substantiate this awareness about the inevitability of the gradualness of this fusion with larger societies and ponder over its impact on its social structure and not merely on the achievements of their individual households. Keralites are no longer apt to get absorbed in temple-centric city or suburban configurations of the revivalist Ramakrishnpuram variety. Their process of individualization and atomisation can make them at home even at the antipodes. However, any hasty or induced dilution of the genetic fibre through cultural fertilisation can be ill-timed and be suicidal. Let us make our boys and girls aware of its social consequences and not merely let them drift towards cosmopolitan modernity and transatlantic delusions.

Social Science research during the 'Development Decade' does not stop short of probing into the structure and function of the Kerala Social system. Notwithstanding the fact that it is an open system researchers of sophisticated persuasion do not spare even the private life of individuals. Socio-economic research through surveys and census isolate the variables of economic change and development for fashioning the predictable conformism of people through models of change of the macro-sociological scale. The sociology of Family Planning probes into the interspousal agreement over the number of children and other matters relating to their private life. Economic research is steeped in quantification and agro-economic research operates at the level of incomplete production functions. The fact that economic theories suitable to plural society that is slightly above subsistence economies, have not been formulated so far and that the present theories fall short of the complete explanation of human behaviour are seldom brought out in discussions on planning in Kerala. The search for the *economic man* in Kerala is happily subdued under the impact of Marxian thought and approaches that attached greater

importance to society than to the individual. There was place for heredity, environment, training & self-training in the development of individual personality and not merely of birth or ascribed social status. Meanwhile social-psychological approaches of the standard variety have made themselves felt with its subtle variables covering such new concepts as achievement, motivation, level of aspiration, effect, alienation, attitudes, belief, value, cognition conflict, prejudice, traditionalism and modernity. If we concede that economic processes in Kerala are conditioned by non-conomic influences, more and more empirically-oriented sociological generalizations would be required. This, however, cannot be divorced from historical research; well-written and voluminous district gazetters are not substitutes for interdisciplinary research on the manyfaceted evolution of Kerala society. Let us not use history to insulate ourselves from the vulgarities of the past or of the present. Where history left off the threads, sociology can take up. And for this sociological studies require to become popular among the Malayalis in an increasing fashion.

The lack of a time series of social change in Kerala will always present serious difficulty in order to forecast future changes. This will be true of socio-economic development as well. However, the suitability of research methodologies developed in wesern countries for adoption under the prevailng conditions in Kerala requires to be enquired into before researchers there go the whole hog with the vagaries of certain institutions in the north or in the U. S. A. Perhaps, it may be safely argued without fear of contradiction that as long as the communities in Kerala do not develop the concepts of mutuality, trust and the spirit of the community beyond the confines of the family or that of the caste in some cases, to a higher degree than what has been achieved, so far, there could be no socio-economic development in any real sense and therefore, Social Science Research itself will be a series of futile exercises of academics, both local and foreign. The answer to this lies in Kerala culture and its intrinsic vigour to own scientific pursuits of a *reflexive sociology* without damaging its sense of cultural integrity and social purpose, at any rate, for a few more decades to come. Kerala, undoubtedly, needs several long years of economic and social equilibrium and the ill-winds of change should not become the holocaust of this Malayali haven of refuge. There is need for a new school of sociological and anthropological thought to come up in Kerala that is rooted on the soil. The hope lies on the younger generation of Malayali scholars.

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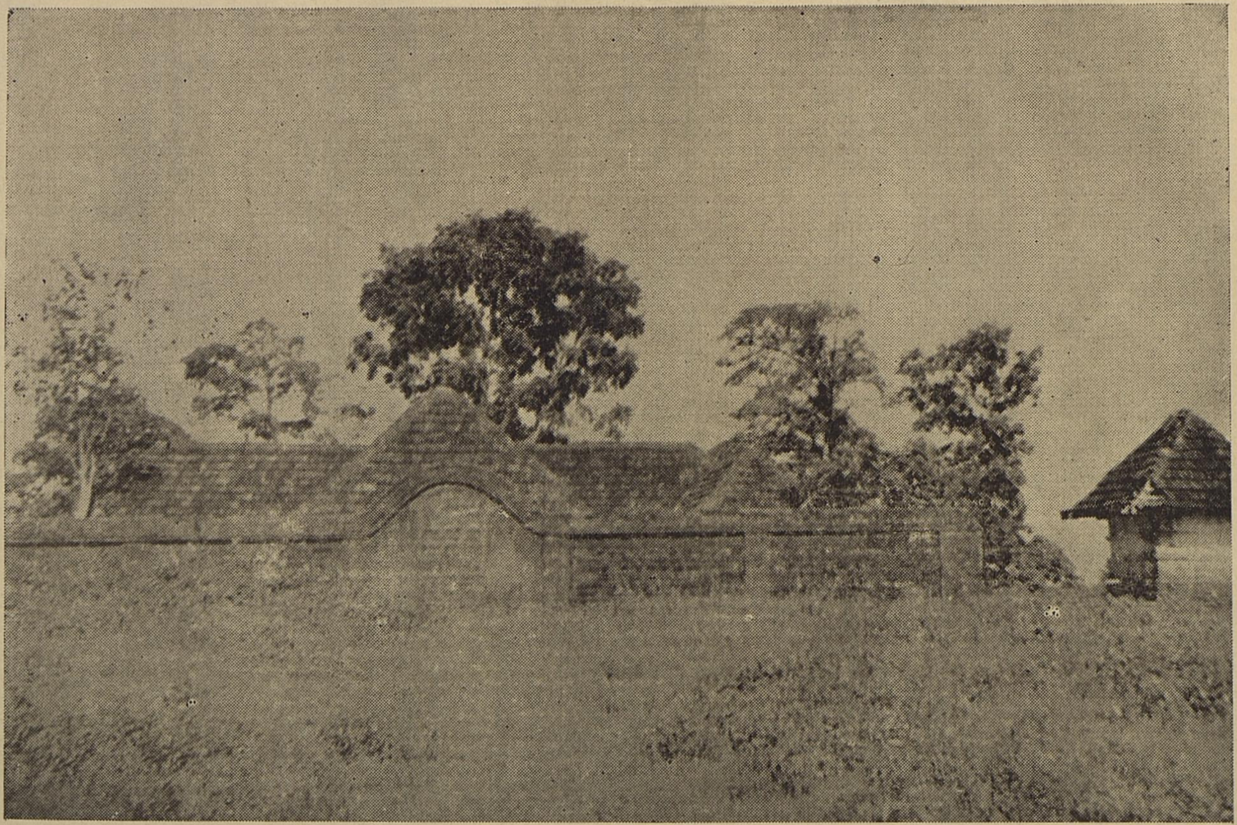

Kottaikovil, the ancient temple dedicated to Lord Krishna, the patron deity of Paliath Achans, hereditary Prime Ministers of the Maharajas of Cochin, at Chennamangalam (Chandamangalam, Chendamangalam-14 miles north-west of Alwaye). The Vaipicotta seminary is only a stone's throw from the temple.

Early Man in Kerala

BY

K. J. JOHN

The earliest identifiable remains of the ancient man are confined to crude stone tools fashioned and used by him for hunting and other purposes and skeletal remains of both human beings, and animals hunted by him. All these are often found lying scattered in the river terraces, rock shelters and caves. This stage of history, when stone was the all-purpose material in the economic life of man is considered to be the formative period of the human civilization. The essence of civilization as revealed from the archaeo-ethnological studies is the progress of man from the status of a helpless slave in the "invisible cage" of Nature to its partner by a progressive analytical understanding of its process, leading finally to a synthesis of human and natural efforts. The drama cycle of prehistory has for its theme man's conquest of Nature. Thus the advance of man from the food gathering economy to food producing economy marks man's answer to the challenge of Nature and his adaptation to the new environment beyond his control. The story of this struggle and effective responses of the early man to the challenges, provided by the material remains of prehistoric period, is what the archaeologists are trying to place together in order to reconstruct the story of man before the dawn of civilization.

FOOTPRINTS OF EARLY MAN:

Human activity in the remote past is observed in different parts of India in the form of crude pebble tools, flake tools and stone axes may be of hundred thousand or more years old. The expedition led by De Terra ([1]) in the Kashmir valley, for the first time correlated the glaciations of Europe and of Kashmir and brought out valuable evidences for the presence of Palaeolithic man in the Indian sub-

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1. De Terra, H. and Paterson, T. T. (1939) *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Culture*, Washington.

continent. The works of Cammiade and Burkitt [2] and later V. D. Krishnaswamy [3] in South India established a geological correlation for the earliest Stone Ages in India. It would be an erroneous conclusion to state in the line of J. H. Hutton and S. K. Chatterjee that India produced no autochthonons people on the basis that no fossil-remains of the palaeolithic man have, so far, been discovered. It would suffice to say that the existence of man in the Indian subcontinent right from the late Miocene period to Holocene has been established on the basis of archaeological evidences heralding various cultural phases in the evolution of man. With the recent discoveries of early stone Age sites made by Dr. H. D, Sankalia [4] in Kashmir and in Assam, the evidence of existence of early man has come from nearly the whole of India except Kerala. Though no proper search has been made for the unknown hunter in Kerala our leading archaeologists, based on the remarks of Foote, [5] have gone to the extent of saying that Kerala was a cultural vacuum in the prehistoric period and our historians considered Kerala to be a land of immigrants. It is to be admitted, however, Kerala did not produce so far Early Stone Age tools. The main reason for it might be the lack of systematic search for it. Topographically the picturesque, mountainous and riverine Kerala is suitable for the dwelling of Palaeolithic men since Ratnagiri and other parts of Malabar-Konkan coast having the same topography as that of Kerala have yielded Early Stone Age tools. The Madrasian hand axe complex discovered in the valleys of Korthalayar of Chingleput district, Vadamadurai and Attirampakkam, has undoubtedly proved the presence of Palaeolithic men in the extreme south of are subcontinent. The foot-prints of these earliest unknown hunters are becoming more and more traceable in Kerala from the availablity of subsequent cultural materials.

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2. Cammiade, L. A. and Burkitt, M. C. (1930) "Fresh Light on the Stone Ages of South-east India" *Antiquity*, IV. 327-39.
3. Krishnaswami, V. D. (1938) "Changes of Prehistoric Man near Madras", Jour. *Madras Geog. Assoc.*, XIII, 58-99.
   Krishnaswami, V D. (1947) "Stone Age India" *Ancient India*, III, 11-57
4. Sankalia, Dr. H. D. (1969) "Early Man in India" *IAS*, Bombay (New series)
5. Foote, R. B. (1916) *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities. Notes on their Ages and Distribution*, Madras.

ENVIRONMENT OF EARLY MAN IN KERALA:

The process of history is to be understood in relation to the geographical context : time and geographical factors can be seen to have determined the course of south Indian history, and their influence was more strong in prehistoric times, especially when man was a slave of his environment. For example, the close relationship of environment to human activities and to the pattern of human settlement and the marked cultural diversity in the ancient Tamilakam are clearly recognised in *Tolkāpiyam* and other works of Sangam literature (3rd century B. C. to 5th century A. D.). *Pattuppāṭṭu*[6] one of the Sangam works very clearly presents the vivid picture of food collecting peoples of Tamilakam of which Kerala formed a part in that period. The author describes the hunters of the Palai who hide in pits of deserts and lay in wait for game near the ponds and streams; the herdsmen of the Mullai, who lived in the forest tracts with their cattle, buffaloes and sheep, ate tinai ari*, varagu ari,† avarai seeds§, sempu‡ etc , and cow products; the people of Murutham who cultivated rice; and the people of Neithal who depend on fish and drank a pottage made of the paste of unpounded rice cooled in large pots and warm toddy.

In a systematic attempt to explain India's past in modern geographical terms F. J. Richards [7] classified geographical regions into four types: centripetal, centrifugal, transitional and stagnant. This means that there are certain regions which for various reasons attract population: others from which the population is constantly being driven out owing to their unproductive nature; others again which form highways between these two; and finally those in which old ways of life linger on undisturbed for indefinite periods of time. Although the pattern of different types of region changes from time to time, certain regions, particularly those of stagnation, retain their character for very long periods.

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6. Chelliah J. V. (1962) *Pattupattu—Ten Tamil Idylls*, Madras, 99-100.
   * Tinai ari or the Italian millet (Setaria italica)
   † Varagu ari or Common millet (Paspalum serobiculatum)
   § Avarai or Beans (Dolichos lablab)
   ‡ Sempu or Taro (Colocasia esculenta)
7. Richards, F. J. (1933) "Geographical Factors in Indian Archaeology", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 62, 235-43.

Guarded by the Sahyadri in the east and embraced by the Arabian sea in the west, Kerala presents three well-defined parts: highland (hills), middle land (plains) and sea coast. Culturally the highland region with its peaks of lofty heights and dense forests forms the stagnant area. The middle land and the sea coast with their gentle slopes with widening valleys and the plains watered by hundreds of navigable rivers and swamps form the centripetal region or area of attraction. Geographically Kerala stands apart from the rest of South India; a narrow strip between western Ghats and Arabian sea communicate with the rest of the country mainly by way of the Palghat gap and the Aramboli pass in the extreme south.

PREHISTORIC KERALA:

It is well established that the Mesolithic sites on banks of rivers and many of the castallated granite hills of adjoining Plateaus were the scene of flourishing Neolithic settlements from about 2000 B. C. or earlier. Though it is not well established that a Neolithic food producing economy prevailed in Kerala, artefacts of Mesolithic and Neolithic communities were discovered from different parts of this region; and it is well known from the Sangam literature that the Uḻavars were the flourishing farming communities during the period of Ādicēras (Contemporary to Muaryas) in Kerala. The Mesolithic artefacts discovered by K. R. U. Todd[8] at Chevayur, near Calicut, were of a factory site beside a pond and once covered by several inches of soil but later exposed again by erosion. The entire assemblage is of quartz crystal, giving a total range of tools, and Dr. B. Allchin [9] traces their parallels in the discoveries from the Mysore Plateau. The factors which unite the Calicut industry with that of South Mysore are the exclusive use of quartz combined with techniques identical to those employed in other parts of the Deccan. Cammiade [10] and Fawcet [11] reported earlier the presence of Pigmy

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8. Toda, K. R. U., From a Xerox copy of unpublished note in the British Museum.
9. Allchin, B. (1966) *The Stone-tipped Arrow*, London, 114-115.
10. Cammiade, L. A. (1830) "Urn Burials in Wynad, South India", *Man*, Vol. XXX, London, 183-186.
11. Fawcet, F. (1901) "The Rock Carving in the Edakkal Cave, Wynad", *Indian Antiquary*, 421-422.

implements in the Wynad region. In a recent exploration [12] a few quartz flakes, cores and chert blades from the foothills of Wynad Plateau, south western extension of the Great Mysore Plateau, have been discovered.

If Mesolithic stage is followed by Neolithic, then whether Kerala passed through this Neolithic phase or whether the Neolithic phase was preceded by a full-fledged Mesolithic phase in Kerala is a matter of controversy. No stratigraphical data have yet been discovered, but polished stone axes and blades which are typical of the Neoilthic phase are found from Wynad [13] Palghat [14] Kalpetta[15] Alwaye[16] and Tiruvalla [17] of Kerala state. The Neolithic culture may be defined as a stone Age culture with food production as the primary trait, along with occupations of agriculture and animal husbandry. It is associated with other secondary traits such as pottery, polished stone axes etc. As has been pointed out above, some of these traits were traced in Kerala but the association of the other traits have not yet been established.

Kerala Megaliths:

Megaliths are the most common and well-preserved monuments of the prehistoric past in Kerala. Hundreds of Megaliths varying in structural forms and burial practices are observed in almost every district of Kerala. This part of India seems to be the richest for its megalithic cultural deposits and the perfection of megalithism in India is eloquently exhibited by different styles of megalithic architecture in this region, significantly distributed in the highland tribal zone.

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12. John, K. J. (1972) " Microliths From Kerala", *Mathrubhumi*, week-end edition, Sept 3, Calicut; "Clue to missing link between Konkan and Kerala" *Times of India*, June 29, 1972, Bombay.
13. Two of the Neoliths collected from Pulppalli region of Wynad the exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Calicut University.
14. Foote, R. B. (1914) *The Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and Proto-historic Antiquities*, Madras, 5.
15. Unnithan, N. G. (1966) " Archaeology in Keralal ", *History on the March*, Ernakulam 92.
16. Neolithic Celt discovered by Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle from Periyar River sand at Alwaye, Report in *The Hindu*, Madurai, Jan. 21, 1971.
17. A neolithic celt associated with megalithic burial is found from this region, (in a personal communication from the Director of Archaeology, Govt. of Kerala).

Megalith, in archaeology, is defined as huge stones having sepulchral, ritualistic or commemorative association. Besides, graves without any lithic appendage but associated with typical megalithic grave goods are also classed as megaliths. Megalithism can be explained as an aspect of religion of ancient man. The practice of depositing various objects of day to day use with the dead presupposes a firm belief in the continuance of life, or a virtual break-down of unhealthy morbid attachments among survivors. Anthropologists have recorded among all simple cultures a man's personalia or most intimate possessions are buried with him and so with woman. Thapar[18] and Aiyappan[19] brought to light various kinds of implements, variety of potsherds, zoomorphic sacrophagi, ornaments of metal, stone and glass, ritualistic objects and skeletons of men and women from megalithic graves of Kerala.

That megalithism was practised on a large-scale in Kerala and other parts of ancient Tamilakam is very clear from the references in early Sangam literature[20] Megalithic builders are considered to be the earliest iron-using people in this country. They used spears, spikes, daggers, bows and arrows, sickles and many other implements[21] made of iron and a peculiar pottery type known as Black-and Red Ware. The nature of their agrarian economy can be deducted from these implements; they cleared the forests, faced wild animals and mastered the land and defeated the stone using peoples of the region with their superior weapons. In fact these megalithic builders were responsible for the introduction of the advanced methods of agriculture on a large-scale based on irrigation[22]. In a recent exploration[23] at Chithrari, Cannanore district, we noted large irrigational tanks bunding the slopes of the hillocks across the natural gradiant of the high ground on which rain water could flow down; these tanks were possibly constructed by the megalithic builders of

18. Thapar, B. K. (1952) "Porkalam 1948" *Ancient India* VIII, 3-16.
19. Aiyappan, A. (1933) " Rock-cut Cave tombs of Feroke, S. Malabar" *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, 299-314.
20. *Puram*, Verses 228, 256; *Manimekhalai*, VII, line 63; *Puram* Verse 356. Srinivasan, K. R. (1946) " The Magalithic Burials and Urn-fields of South India in the light of Tamil literature and Tradition" *Ancient India*, No. 2, 9-16.
21. Gururaja Rao, Dr. B. K. (1972) *Megalithic Culture in South India*, Mysore, 265-268.
22. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer (1968) *Early India and Pakisthan* (Revised edition) London, 163.

the region. Their settlements were located in the vicinity of a rocky high ground and the waste laterite grounds were utilized by them for excavating rock-cut graves. Various scholars have observed that the megalithic folk of South India settled down in the vicinity of large irrigational tanks.[24]

Regarding the chronology of megaliths, formerly it was supposed that this megalithic culture was not older than 250 B. C.[25] But this view is to be discarded in the light of new evidences for an early date of megaliths. A. Sundara's[26] excavations at Terdal in the Bijapur district revealed that some of the megaliths belong to copper age which ended in that region about 1000 B. C. This is also suggested by Tekkalkota[27] and further confirmed by the evidences from Hallur in Dharwar district.[28] It is now certain that the megalithic cultures of ancient Tamilakam belong to a single cultural tradition and Sangam literature belongs to the last phase of full-fledged megalithic culture.

Further Researches

For a full and vivid picture of the prehistoric Kerala, more explorations, excavations and coordinated research activities are necessary. Absolute dating by different geochronological and other modern methods also help to place the footprints of early men in Kerala, chronologically. Wynad and other highland regions are inhabited by the aborginal peoples[29] whose life was based on hunting and who practised megalithism till recently. These are the regions which yielded Mesolithic and Neolithic implements. It would be interesting to examine whether there is any link between the past lithic cultures and the existing aborginals.

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23. A detailed report of the discovery of 13 Rock cut caves and tanks excavated in laterite at Chithrari, Cannanore, by K. J. John, in *Mathrubhumi* daily, 1973 Januray 8.
24. Gururaja Rao, Dr. B. K. (1972) *Ibid.*, 297-299.
25. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer (1968) *Ibid.*, 163.
26. *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1965-66, 1. p. 65.
27. Rao, M. S. Nagaraja (1965) *Excavations at Tekkalkota*, Poona.
28. *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, 1964-65, 1965-66.
29. About the aborigines of Kerala several studies have come out. A brief account of about 50 tribes of Kerala can be had from A. A. D. Luiz (1962) *Tribes of Kerala* published by Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi.